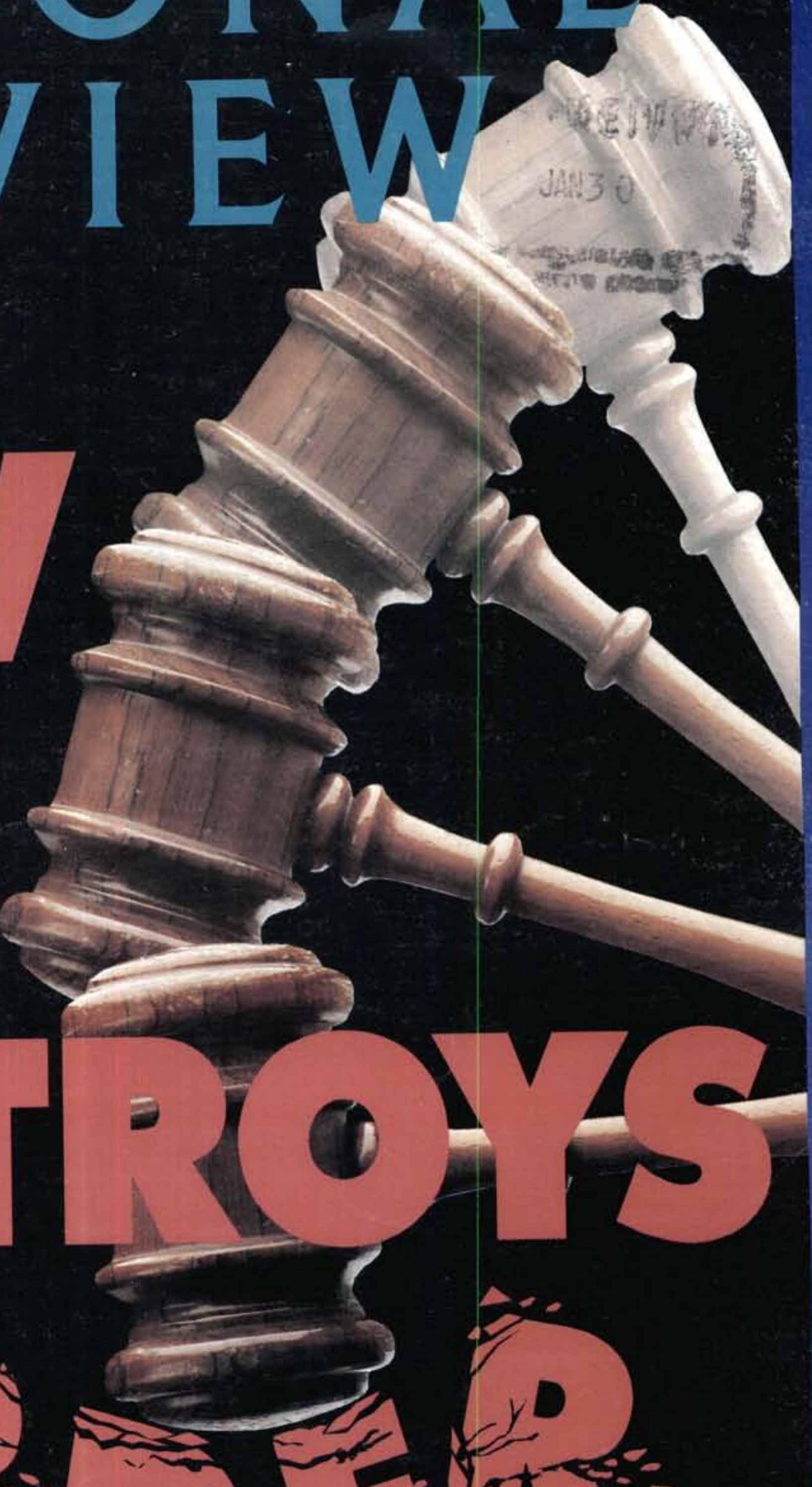
GULF
ER SADDAM

USSR: Crackdown or Crackup? • The Keating 535

NATIONAL REVIEW

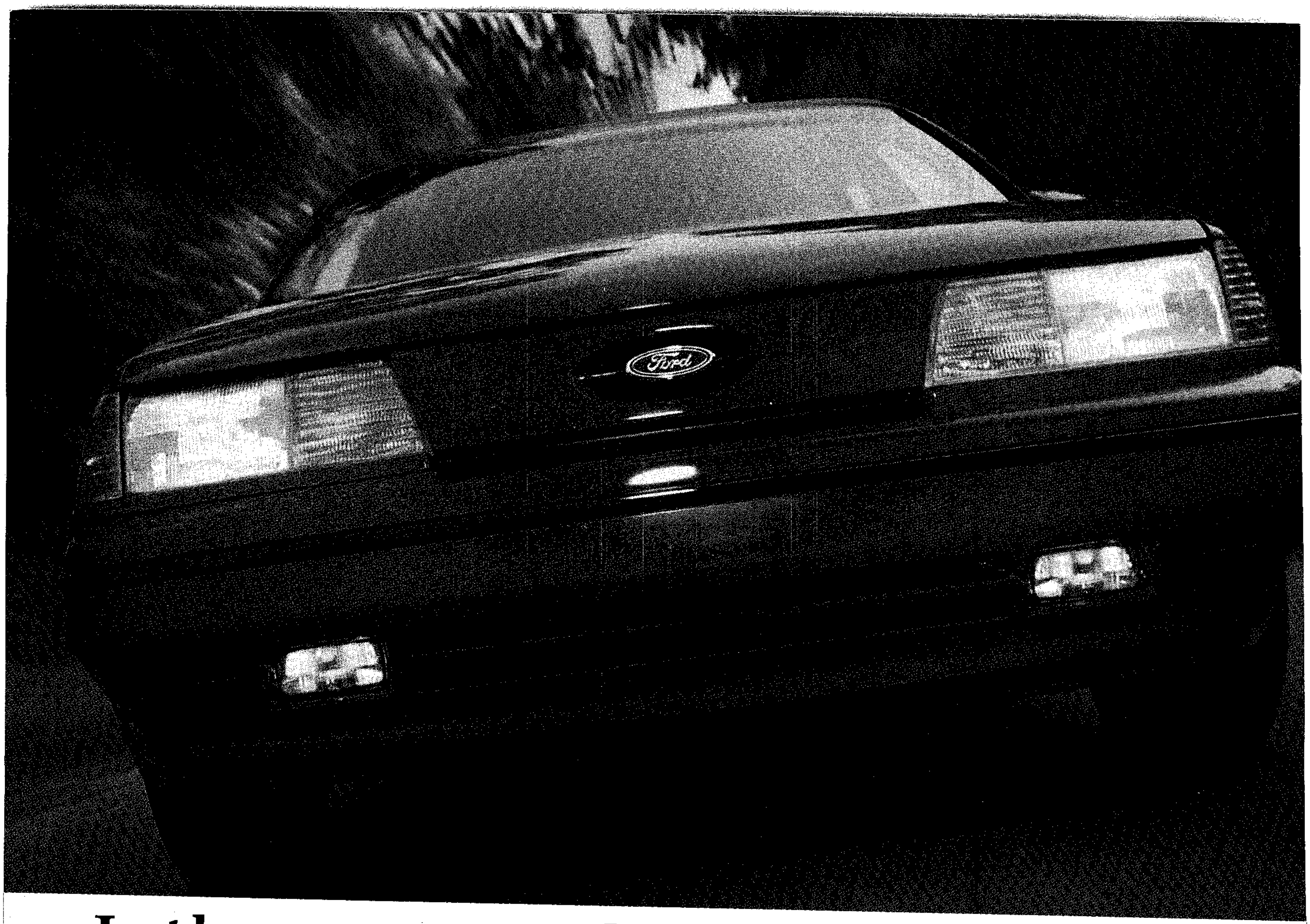


HOW LAW DESTROYS ORDER

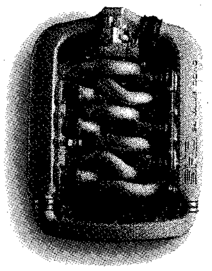
JAN 30

MG07023018544 0269102 P 025
RITTER LIB-PERIODICALS
BALDWIN-WALLACE COL
BEREA, OH 44017

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Just because your parking space is reserved doesn't mean your car has to be.



24-VALVE

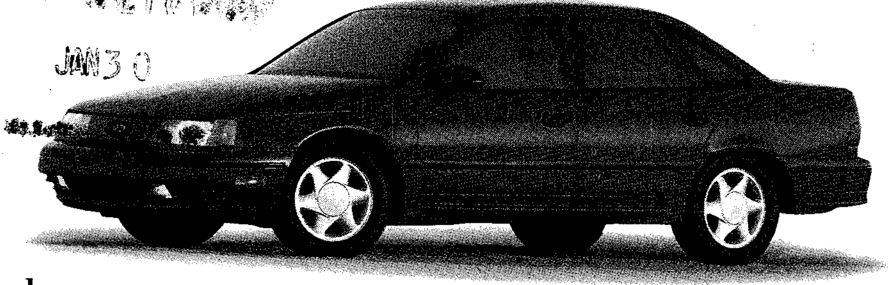
220 HP

FORD

TAURUS

SHO

JAN 30



Just when they thought they had you all figured out.

Now that you've arrived, a departure may be in order. We recommend the Ford Taurus SHO. A little pressure to the gas pedal, and its 220 horsepower, 24-valve, Super High Output (SHO) V-6 will change your perspective. A change enhanced by SHO's newly refined 5-speed manual transmission, engineered for smoother, more precise shifting.

Think of it as a sports car with a conference room.

With plenty of room for five, Taurus SHO lets you hold a meeting–wherever you want.

Buckle up–together we can save lives.

And Taurus SHO not only puts you in a powerful position, but a comfortable one with its fully articulated sport seats.

Protect your assets.

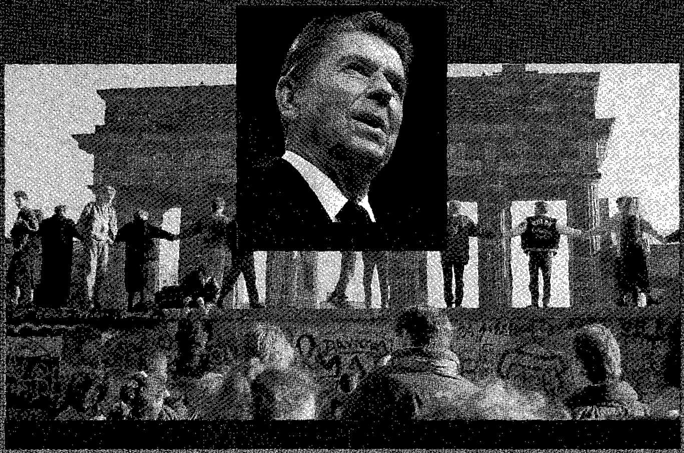
Of course, Taurus SHO comes with state-of-the-art features like anti-lock brakes, and a standard driver's side air bag supplemental restraint system to be used with your safety belt.

Taurus SHO. Because what you put in your parking space has everything to do with what you get out of it.

Ford Taurus SHO

Have you driven a Ford...lately? Ford

WHEN HE SAID IT, NO ONE FELL FOR IT.



"The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The west will not contain communism, it will transcend communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written."

▪

May 1981
Commencement address at Notre Dame

"In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are colliding directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist west, but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union. . . . What we see here is a political structure that no longer corresponds to its economic base, a society where productive forces are hampered by political ones."

▪

June 1982
Address to the British Parliament

Soviet economy has made great l progress in recent years."

OHN KENNETH GALBRAITH
Professor of Economics
Harvard University

ew Yorker Magazine, 1984

a vulgar mistake to think that people in Eastern Europe are able."

PAUL SAMUELSON
Nobel Laureate
Professor of Economics
ssachusetts Institute of Technology

Economics, 1981

n economic command signifi- y compress and accelerate the th process? The remarkable per- ance of the Soviet Union suggests it can. In 1920 Russia was but a or figure in the economic councils he world. Today it is a country se economic achievements bear nparison with those of the United es."

LESTER THUROW
Professor of Economics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Economic Problem, 1989

". . . no one can deny that it has mad tremendous economic progress."

LESTER THUROW
Professor of Economics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Economic Problem, 1989

"The Soviet Union is not now nor w it be during the next decade in t throes of a true systemic crisis, for boasts enormous unused reserves political and social stability that suffi to endure the deepest difficulties."

SEWERYN BIALER
Professor of Political Science
Columbia University

Foreign Affairs Magazine, 1982/8

"On the economic front, for the f time in its history the Soviet leaders was able to pursue successfully a po of guns and butter as well as growth The Soviet citizen—worker, peas and professional—has become ac tomed in the Brezhnev period to uninterrupted upward trend in his w being . . ."

SEWERYN BIALER
Professor of Political Science
Columbia University

Foreign Affairs Magazine, 1982/8

YOUNG AMERICA'S
FOUNDATION
110 Elden Street, Herndon, Virginia 22070

For a free large poster of this ad, please contact Young America's Foundation.

For the first time ever...

The Complete Works of

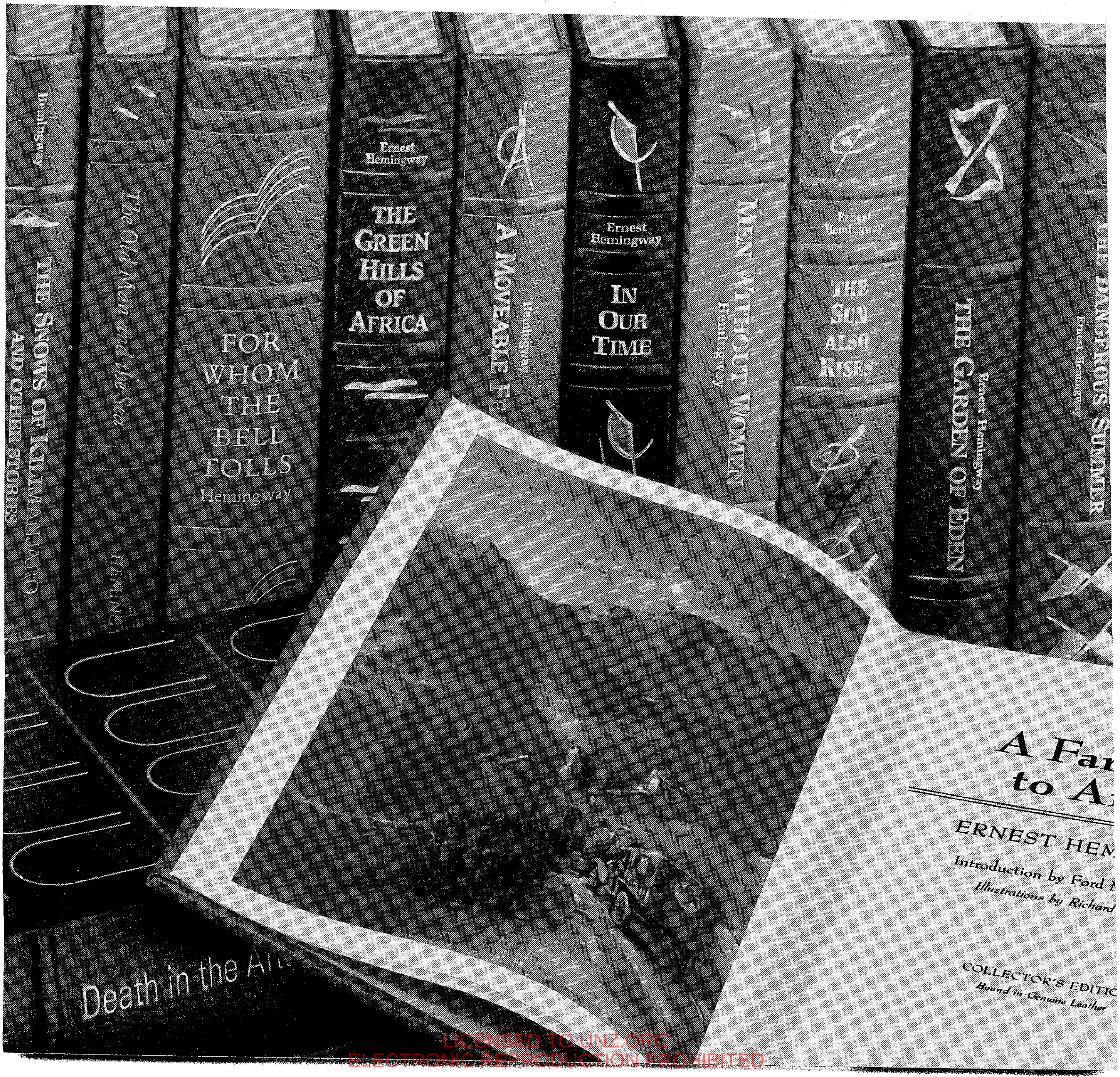
All the novels. All the stories. All the non-fiction works.

A Farewell to Arms. The Sun Also Rises. For Whom the Bell Tolls. The Old Man and the Sea. The great works of Ernest Hemingway are among the finest and best-loved books in all of literature. They are, perhaps, the greatest works of the 20th century.

Death in the Afternoon. The Green Hills of Africa. A Moveable Feast. Now all these titles and, indeed, everything Hemingway ever wrote will be issued in the most luxurious editions ever—bound in leather, for subscribers only. The first complete collection ever published. This is history!

Our greatest writer.

Hemingway originated a new way of writing, lean, tight, taut...with no wasted words. When you read Hemingway, it's as if you are not reading at all. The words almost disappear. Thoughts, images, and emotions leap from the author's


Hemingway
THE SNOWS OF KILIMANJARO AND OTHER STORIES
The Old Man and the Sea
HEMING
FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS
Hemingway
Ernest Hemingway
THE GREEN HILLS OF AFRICA
A MOVEABLE FE
Hemingway
Ernest Hemingway
IN OUR TIME
MEN WITHOUT WOMEN
Hemingway
Ernest Hemingway
THE SUN ALSO RISES
Ernest Hemingway
THE GARDEN OF EDEN
Ernest Hemingway
THE DANGEROUS SUMMER
Death in the Aft
A Far
to A
ERNEST HEM
Introduction by Ford
Illustrations by Richard
COLLECTOR'S EDITIO
Bound in Genuine Leather

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

brain to yours. Like no other writer, Hemingway transcends the words and transmits the experience direct.

Introduced by famous writers.

Every major writer of this century has felt the influence of Hemingway. Now, some of these distinguished writers have joined us by contributing introductions to these leather editions.

John Updike introduces *The Garden of Eden* and James A. Michener, *A Dangerous Summer*. George Plimpton recalls Hemingway in Paris, by way of an introduction to *A Moveable Feast*. Sinclair Lewis pays tribute in an historic essay which precedes *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

Hemingway
ACROSS THE RIVER AND INTO THE TREES

William F. Buckley, Jr. introduces Hemingway's brilliant book on bullfighting, *Death in the Afternoon*. Patrick Hemingway sheds new light on the safari he took with his father—the basis of *The Green Hills of Africa*.

Luxurious, contemporary editions.

Hemingway's classics are contemporary works. So we have given them contemporary designs…along with the traditional luxurious features that Easton Press editions are famous for. Notice the hubbed spines—each title is 22kt gold. The acid-neutral pages are gilded for protection and beauty. Books are thread-sewn, each with satin moiré fabric endsheets and a ribbon page marker.

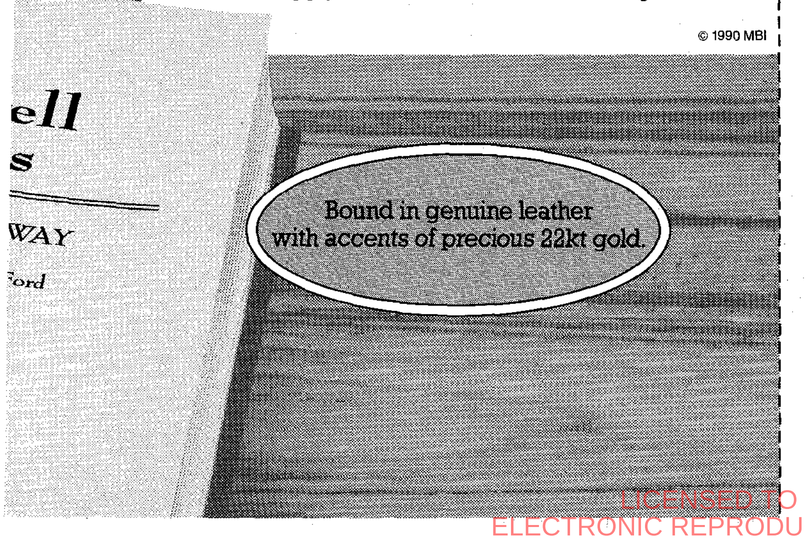
The collection features both illustrations from original editions and newly commissioned art by such award winning illustrators as Richard Sparks and Alan Phillips.

Affordably priced.

The price per volume is just $38—an astonishing value, made possible by The Easton Press policy of private publication. In effect, each book is printed to order. You will receive the first book to preview, then, if completely satisfied, you'll receive the balance in two shipments. You pay for just one book a month. Satisfaction is guaranteed.

E P
The Easton Press

© 1990 MBI


ell
s
WAY
ord
Bound in genuine leather with accents of precious 22kt gold.

The first and the only complete edition of Hemingway.

Complete Dickens. Complete Twain. Complete Shakespeare. But until now…no complete edition of Hemingway. This is the first time that every book Hemingway ever wrote is being issued as a set. And only luxurious leather would do.

This is the ultimate edition of Hemingway—not only complete but luxurious. Premium-quality leather. Magnificent design. Specially-commissioned illustrations and exclusive introductions.

No other major American writer in this century has been presented this way. Hemingway is the first. When you own this collection, you own books that make history.

A postscript.

Charles Scribner III tells us that Hemingway cared a great deal about advertising copy—he was very particular when it came to book jacket blurbs and the like. We think Hemingway might look at all the materials you have here, brush it all aside and tell you what to do in two words. We think he would just say: "Take it!"

The Easton Press

Call Toll-Free: 1-800-367-4534

RESERVATION APPLICATION

The Complete Works of ERNEST HEMINGWAY

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

Please send my first volume of **The Complete Works of Ernest Hemingway**. Unless I tell you not to, send the remaining volumes in two shipments and charge me for just one volume per month. I may return any book within 30 days for a full refund.

☐ *Charge my credit card for just one volume per month at* $39.95* each.

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card Number ____ Expiration Date

☐ I prefer not to pay by credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is $39.95* for the first volume.

Signature ____
All orders subject to acceptance.

Name ____

Address ____

City/State/Zip ____

*Includes $1.95 per volume for shipping and handling. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.
Please allow 4-6 weeks after payment for shipment.

092-002

NATIONAL REVIEW

FEBRUARY 11, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 2

Cover Story

28 ***How Law Destroys Order***
Why do murderers have more rights than stockbrokers? **L. Gordon Crovitz** looks at laws rewritten to protect thug and upstanding citizen alike from corrosive bourgeois order. . . . **Stephen Bates** presents the legal cutting edge in *U.S.* v. *Superman*.

Articles

21 ***On the Scene***
After the crackdown on Lithuania, **Elisabeth Rubinfien** considers the Soviet past, present, and future. . . . Alas, says **Jack Fowler**, the Keating Five hearings won't affect the way business is done in Washington. . . . **Selden Rodman** wonders if a Haitian election will ever *not* be followed by a coup.

36 ***After the Dust Settles***
Eliot A. Cohen asks: After Operation Desert Storm, what next?

39 ***The New American Arts Order***
Samuel Lipman looks at the problem behind the NEA: an establishment happy to jump into the grave as long as it is allowed to join in the digging.

40 ***The Coming Fall of Hanoi***
With Vietnam's economy going the way of all Communism, **Pham Huy Ty** warns the West against trading a bailout for more promises. . . . **Sherri L. Stone** reports on the plight of Vietnam's prime export to the USSR: workers.

43 ***Don't Have a Nice Day***
Florence King forswears stress management, dialogue, Oprah's guests, and other noxiously sensitive tonics, and takes her misanthropy neat.

46 ***Clerihews Galore***
John O'Sullivan reports on our readers' indefatigability and metrical gifts.

Books, Arts & Manners

47 In reviewing Ronald Reagan's *An American Life*, **John O'Sullivan** recalls the maxim that you can achieve almost anything in politics if you let someone else take the credit. . . . Gail Sheehy claims to plumb the depths of Mikhail Gorbachev's soul in *The Man Who Changed the World*, but **Matthew Scully** discovers more about her longing for a secular savior. . . . Father Charles Curran's historicist justifications for teaching heresy in *Catholic Higher Education, Theology, and Academic Freedom* are more disturbing than the heresies themselves, observes **John X. Evans**. . . . **Thomas E. Smith** finds the Bible of Japanese economic nationalism, Shintaro Ishihara's *The Japan That Can Say No*, more level-headed than advertised. . . . While blood banks aren't perfect, **Michael Fumento** suspects that *Safe Blood* may be just another attempt to cash in on AIDS hysteria. . . . Surveying releases that range from Robert Schumann to Frank Sinatra, **Ralph de Toledano** offers notes on the rough art of criticism. . . . Joining the critic-bashing, **James Gardner** takes on Hilton Kramer over the exhibition "High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture."

Sections

6 ***Letters***
8 ***From the Editor***
10 ***On the Record***
12 ***The Week***
34 help
50 ***Random Notes***
59 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***
64 ***Off the Record***

Cover photo: Chris Collins / The Stock Market

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January and one issue in March, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1991. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display and classified advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

RATES: $74.00 a year (24 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

Britain's best-kept secret...

The Authentic Barbour® Border Jacket

Britain's original all-weather, all-purpose jacket.

Since 1894, informed Britons, from outdoorsmen to royalty, have relied on J. Barbour & Sons for the finest all-weather, all-purpose protection. In fact, anybody who is anybody in Britain owns a Barbour. Sought after because of its no-nonsense quality and durability, the Authentic Barbour Border Jacket is lightweight and comfortable, yet rugged enough to withstand even the harshest elements.

Barbour, the choice of British Royalty.

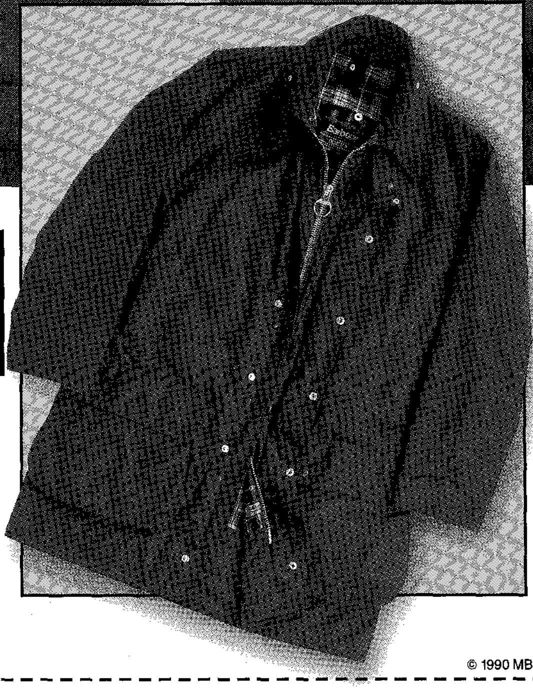
Barbour has won the approval of British royalty. Made of 100% long staple Egyptian cotton proofed with the original "secret formula" Barbour Dressing, the Border Jacket is totally windproof, waterproof and breathable. Made to last a lifetime, each Barbour Border Jacket must pass 14 separate inspections to earn the prestigious Barbour label. Boasts practical features...corduroy collar, storm fly front, adjustable storm cuffs, brass finish two-way metal zipper, two moleskin-lined handwarmer pockets, concealed zip-up billfold pocket, and a pure cotton tartan lining.

Discover what the British have known for generations.

Now, the Authentic Barbour Border Jacket is available to you for only $299 (plus $7.50 shipping and handling) payable in five monthly credit card installments of only $61.30 each. Equally stylish on ladies and gentlemen, the Authentic Barbour Border Jacket is available in even sizes 30 to 50 (equivalent to women's sizes 4-24). If not delighted, return your jacket in original condition within 30 days for exchange or refund. Order today!

Normal delivery on phone orders is 2-4 weeks.

Barbour
BORDER



CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

© 1990 MBI

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

WILLABEE & WARD W&W

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534
Satisfaction Guaranteed
615-205

Please send me ______ Authentic Barbour Border Jacket(s).

Size (Even sizes 30-50): ______
(Equivalent to women's sizes 4-24)

For each jacket, charge 5 monthly installments of $61.30* to my credit card:
☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ American Express ☐ Discover

Credit Card Number ______ Expiration Date ______

Signature ______
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

Name ______
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Address ______

City/State/Zip ______

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my full payment of $306.50* for each jacket ordered.

*Includes shipping and handling. Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

LETTERS

Taking Bork to Task

Terry Eastland writes of the Senate's hearings on Judge Souter's nomination ["Deconstructing David Souter," Dec. 3] as follows: "Obviously, Robert Bork was the invisible presence in the hearing room. Yet no senator asked Souter the question Bork would have: whether the nominee's commitment to unenumerated rights is inconsistent with his attachment to originalism. Bork would say the two are in conflict: judges should enforce only the commands of the Constitution . . ."

If Souter had been asked the question, perhaps he would have responded by quoting the Ninth Amendment to the Constitution.

In a 1968 *Fortune* article, Bork wrote approvingly of "Madisonian natural rights" and of Goldberg's concurring opinion in the *Griswold* case, which found in the Ninth Amendment constitutional justification for the unenumerated (and natural) right of marital privacy. Since then Bork (and Eastland) have changed their views and become unqualified legal positivists, denying any foundation for law outside positive law.

We do not know of a single person, among those who participated either in framing or in ratifying the Constitution, who was a legal positivist. Calling any species of legal positivism a jurisprudence of "original intent" is an Orwellian transformation of the meaning of words into their opposite. It is Bork and Eastland whose views are inconsistent with a genuine jurisprudence of original intent.

Harry V. Jaffa
Claremont, Calif.

Models and Manifestations

Ronald Bailey ["Raining in Their Hearts," Dec. 3] refers to "Sagan's computer model [which] showed that even a limited nuclear exchange would plunge the world into a smoke-filled hell from which it would never be able to recover." It so happens that the model in question was in no way Sagan's model. The model was developed by some of us at NASA–Ames and R and D Associates in Marina del Rey, California, to study the evolution and behavior of aerosol clouds in the stratosphere. Sagan was brought on board by some of the others to get publicity for the "nuclear winter" studies. He contributed nothing to model development nor did he, so far as I can determine, contribute anything to the physics and chemistry of "nuclear winter." Moreover, the idea that large-scale nuclear warfare might lead to severe climate degradation was originated by Paul Crutzen, director of the Max-Planck-Institut fur Chemie in Mainz, Germany, not Sagan. Although I was involved in the development of the model from its inception, I left the group when it brought in Sagan because I could sense the "political science" that was in the offing. As a footnote, the key person in the research, and especially the model development, R. P. Turco—then of R and D Associates and now of UCLA—received a grant of something like a quarter of a million dollars from the MacArthur Foundation for his efforts. Not bad pay for "public service"!

When it was developed, the atmospheric model used in the "Sagan studies" was never intended to be used for quantitative predictions of climate change associated with severe perturbations like large-scale nuclear war. The later application of more realistic (and complex) models led to much smaller predictions of climate change: "nuclear autumn" instead of "nuclear winter."

NATIONAL REVIEW went through all of this some five years ago at the time of the "TTAPS" paper (the basic paper on nuclear winter by Turco, Toon, Ackerman, Pollack, and Sagan published in the journal *Science*), which was taken to task erroneously in your pages. *NR* did not have the physics right then, and does not have the history right now. The editors can, however, take comfort in the enormous blooper in "TTAPS."

Robert C. Whitten
Research Scientist, NASA (retired)
Cupertino, Calif.

I agree wholeheartedly with Ronald Bailey's remarks on various environmental problems. But it should be kept in mind that if he turns out to be wrong, we can do things about the problems technologically. Although the theory that we are going into a new ice age because of dust in the upper atmosphere—popular ten years ago—is silly, it is true we could artificially lower the albedo of the earth and hence cool it off by putting a lot of dust in the upper atmosphere. Presumably we could use some method other than the bombs of the nuclear winter. I'm sure Boeing would be delighted to provide us with the necessary equipment. It would be expensive, but not as expensive as many of the things now suggested to reduce the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

There is, however, a serious problem. Why should anybody feel that the present temperature and water level are ideal? The changes that are threatened by even the most extreme doomsters in this area are slow enough that the average American would probably have moved many times anyway during the period the water was rising. It's very difficult to see why we would mind a five-foot rise over a hundred years. The shift north of the climate belts would also be slow, and both human and natural adjustment should be easy.

At long last the human race is getting to the point where it can make conscious decisions about such things as the temperature of the earth. I don't know how one would decide what is an ideal temperature and hence would suggest that at the moment we don't try to change it (or prevent changes). But we should begin thinking about global engineering, a science-fiction concept which may, like so many other things that science fiction has talked about, become real.

Gordon Tullock
University of Arizona
Tucson, Ariz.

Reversal of Color

I enjoyed John Simon's review of *Reversal of Fortune* ["Books, Arts & Manners," Dec. 31]. You and he might be interested to know that the two young blacks on death row in Alabama, presented in the movie as the beneficiaries of the money paid to Alan Dershowitz for his work on the Claus von Bülow case, were only a little less fictitious than the narration provided by the comatose Mrs. von Bülow.

In reality, Dershowitz's other clients were two *whites* on death row in *Arizona*. Apparently, the filmmakers thought that this particular deception—or, if you prefer, this exercise of dramatic license—would make Dershowitz seem all the more heroic.

David Price
Washington, D.C.

The International Preview Society

HOROWITZ AT HOME
PHILIPS

Horowitz
At Home
25211

Invites you to accept
The ultimate in sound...
The ultimate in savings...

3 COMPACT DISCS OR CASSETTES FOR JUST $1

plus shipping and handling with Club membership

With No Obligation To Buy Anything...*Ever!*

Nadia Salerno-Sonnenberg: Mendelssohn, Violin Concerto New York Chamber Orch./ Schwarz, Angel 34670

Mozart, Symphonies Nos. 30, 31 (Paris) & 32 • Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra led by James Levine. DG 25341

Le Mystère Des Voix Bulgares, Vol. II • Bulgarian Female Vocal Choir/Cellier. A Grammy ® Winner! "Spectacular"—The New York Times Nonesuch 54525

Norrington: Berlioz, Symphonie Fantastique • The London Classical Players. Angel 20760

Segovia Plays Bach • 3 Pieces For Lute, Siciliano, Gavotte en Rondeau, Chaconne, more. MCA 63600

Corelli, Concerti Grossi, Op. 6 Tafelmusik. "Best Of 1989"—New York Times. DHM 73751

Gershwin, Overtures • John McGlinn conducts. Oh, Kay!; Girl Crazy, more. Angel 70391

Simon Rattle: Stravinsky, The Firebird; more • City of Birmingham Symphony. "Brilliant"—Stereo Review Angel 93834

Galway: The Enchanted Forest *Hiro Fujikake, synthesizers.* RCA 44533

Mozart, Violin Concs. 1-3 Dimitry Sitkovetsky, violin. ECO. Novalis 51430

Kronos Quartet: Black Angels • Crumb, Ives, Tallis, Shostakovich, etc. Elektra 62287

Ravel, Piano Concertos • Argerich and Béroff, pianists. LSO/Abbado. "Exquisite."—Stereo Review (Best of the Month) DG 15462

Sound The Trumpet • English Ceremonial Music. Edward Carroll, trumpet; Purcell, and more. Newport 00990

Bartók, Concerto For Orchestra • Plus Dance Suite. Chicago Sym./Georg Solti. London 15177

Mozart, Violin Concertos Nos. 4 & 5 • Dimitry Sitkovetsky, violin. ECO. Novalis 63681

Bali • Gamelan and Kecak recorded in Bali. Ritual songs, sacred music, etc. Nonesuch 44671

Bach, Violin Concertos • S. Accardo, violin. Chamber Orchestra Of Europe. "Warm."—Gramophone Philips 25162

On The Boardwalk • Paragon Ragtime Orchestra/Benjamin Chatterbox Rag, The Memphis Blues, more. Newport 24699

Itzhak Perlman: French Violin Showpieces • Havanaise, Tzigane, Carmen-Fantasy, more. New York Phil./Mehta. DG 15457

Mozart, Lodron Serenades *Camerata Bern. "Strongly recommended."*—Fanfare Novalis 63642

José Carreras Sings "Memory" Plus *Tonight, O Sole Mio, Because, Granada, Be My Love,* more. Philips 25206

Segovia: 5 Centuries Of The Spanish Guitar • MCA 54277

Pops in Space • The Boston Pops/ Williams. Music from Star Wars, Superman, more. Philips 05392

Kronos Quartet: White Man Sleeps • Music of Ives, Volans, Hassell, Coleman, Johnston & Bartók. "Superb."—Gramophone Nonesuch 40256

Beethoven, Symphonies Nos. 1 & 6 (Pastorale) • London Clas. Players/Norrington. "Exhilarating." —Stereo Review Angel 60068

Chopin, Ballades, Barcarolle, more • Krystian Zimerman, piano. "[His] pianism is breathtaking."—Ovation (Recording Of Distinction) DG 15332

Karajan: Brahms, Symphony No. 1 • Berlin Phil. "Impressive"—Billboard DG 35084

Rhythm Song • Evelyn Glennie, percussion. Flight of the Bumblebee, Maple Leaf Rag, Mexican Dances, more. RCA 24723

Respighi, Roman Tone Poems Riccardo Muti conducts the Philadelphia Orch. Angel 34443

Anything Goes • 1934 Version. *Title song, Beware, more hits.* McGlinn cond. Angel 54261

Dvorak, Symphony No. 9 (From The New World) • Cleveland Orch./Dohnányi. London 15065

Segovia: The Baroque Guitar Bach, Purcell, Scarlatti, more. MCA 64270

Kocsis: Bartók, PiCo. No. 1; more • Budapest Festival Orch./Fischer. Philips 25126

J.S. Bach, Works For Organ, Vol. 1 • Ton Koopman, organ. "Wachet auf"; Toccata & Fugue in D Minor; etc. Novalis 01137

James Galway Plays Beethoven Serenades Opp. 8 & 25; Sonata. RCA 34545

Mahler, Symphony No. 1 (Titan) Sir Colin Davis leads the Bavarian Radio Orchestra. Novalis 73745

H.M.S. Gilbert & Sullivan • From *Pirates & The Mikado. "If you're a G & S fan, get this CD."*—CD Review Pro Arte 74518

Reiner: Rossini Overtures • Barber of Seville, William Tell, more. Chicago Symphony. RCA 43972

Perlman: Brahms, Violin Concerto • Chicago Symphony Orchestra/Giulini. A Grammy® Winner! Angel 63343

Classic Marches • Beethoven, Turkish March; Strauss, Radetzky March; 14 others. St. Louis/ Slatkin. RCA 00996

Scarlatti, Sonatas • Anthony Newman, harpsichord. 23 Scarlatti favorites. Newport 64168

Mario Lanza: The Student Prince And The Desert Song "Lovely."—Fanfare RCA 50269

Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 (Eroica) • Roger Norrington conducts the London Classical Players. Angel 70023

Karajan: Brahms, Symphony No. 2; Haydn Variations • Berlin Phil. DG 25120

Heifetz: *The Decca Masters*, Vol 1 • Humoreske Melodie in E-Flat, Clair de lune, Golliwog's Cakewalk, *many more.* MCA 00604

Fauré, Requiem; Pelléas et Mélisande; Pavane • Kiri te Kanawa, soprano. Montreal Sym./Dutoit. London 15321

Cliburn: A Romantic Collection • Liszt, Brahms, Schumann, Rachmaninoff, others. RCA 83880

SAVE 50% **HALF-PRICE BONUS PLAN** *Unlike other clubs, you get bonus certificates good for 50%-off Bonus Savings with every album you buy at regular Club prices, effective with your first full-price purchase!*

This remarkable $1 offer is being made to introduce you to an outstanding classical music membership—with never any obligation to buy.

You'll find hundreds of outstanding albums in each issue of the Society's magazine, which will be sent to you approximately every 4 weeks. That gives you 13 convenient, shop-at-home opportunities a year. But there is no obligation to accept any offering at any time.

You choose only the music you want!

If you'd like to accept the Featured Selection, you need not do a thing. It will be sent automatically. If you'd prefer an alternate selection, or none at all, just mail back the Notification Card by the specified date. You'll always have at least 10 days to decide. But if you don't, you may return your Featured Selection at our expense. You may cancel your membership whenever you wish, simply by writing to us. Or, remain a member and take advantage of future money-saving bargains.

Substantial savings with our bonus plan.

For every regular purchase you do make, you'll receive bonus certificates good for 50%-off bonus savings. (Shipping/handling added to each shipment.)

3 Compact Discs or Cassettes for just $1!

Begin your membership now by choosing any 3 albums shown here for just $1 plus shipping and handling. Send no money now. We want you to judge for yourself before you decide to buy. If not delighted, return your selections at the end of 10 days without obligation.

IPS 554, 6550 E. 30th St., Indianapolis, IN 46219-1194 • TRADEMARKS USED IN THE ADV'T ARE THE PROPERTY OF VARIOUS TRADEMARK OWNERS.

The International Preview Society

P.O. Box 91406 • Indianapolis, IN 46291

☐ **YES!** Please accept my membership in The International Preview Society and send me, for 10 days' FREE examination, the 3 selections I have indicated below, under the terms of this offer. I may return them after 10 days and owe nothing, or keep them and pay only $1 (*shipping and handling added to each shipment*). I understand that I'm not obligated to buy anything...*ever!*

Please send all selections on ☐ ***Compact Disc**** ☐ ***Cassette***

Write Selection Numbers Here:

☐ Mr.
☐ Mrs.
☐ Ms. ____ First Name ____ Initial ____ Last Name ____ (PLEASE PRINT)

Address ____ Apt. ____

City ____ State ____ Zip ____

Telephone (Area Code) ____

Signature ____

*Members who select CDs will be serviced by the BMG Compact Disc Club and will receive *CD Discovery* 19 times a year (approximately every 3 weeks). Full membership details will follow with the same 10-day, no-obligation, no minimum purchase privilege. *Current BMG CD Club* members not eligible for this offer.

Limited to new members, continental U.S.A. only. One membership per family. *We reserve the right to request additional* information or reject any application. Local taxes, if any, will be added.

TG7 (PJ)
AATG7 (BF)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL
REVIEW

John O'Sullivan *Editor*
Wick Allison *Publisher*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Joseph Sobran
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Brad Miner *Literary Editor*
William McGurn *Washington Bureau Chief*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Article Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
Matthew Scully *Assistant Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Jack Fowler *Congressional Reporter*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Editorial Associates
Jane Buckley Smith / G. Allen Randolph
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Micheal Flaherty / Russell Jenkins
Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Nika Hazelton
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Edward A. Capano *Associate Publisher*
Robert F. Sennott Jr. *Advertising Director*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Daniel T. Merritt *Marketing Director*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Sylvia Wolinsky *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Lisa Nelson *Special Projects Director*
Dorian Robbins *Assistant to the Publisher*
Business Services
Kevin Longstreet / Jerry Pellecchia
Alison Schmertz

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
Christopher Buckley / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / John R. Coyne Jr.
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Frank J. Gaffney Jr. / James Gardner
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees / Alan Reynolds
William F. Rickenbacker / Selden Rodman
William A. Rusher / J. O. Tate
Terry Teachout / S. L. Varnado
Richard Vigilante / Charles Wallen Jr.
Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

FROM THE EDITOR

New World Orders to Order?

■ President Bush has been criticized by some conservatives for promising a "new world order" (henceforth NWO) after victory over Saddam Hussein. There is something about the phrase that has the same effect on conservative spines as an over-zealous masseuse. It reminds us of "new world information order," "new international economic order," and other nonsense from the supine Seventies.

But just as fine words butter no parsnips, cold phrases should cook no geese. For whatever we call it, an NWO of some kind is inevitable. The freeing of Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, the rise of Japan, and the emergence of the U.S. as the sole world superpower—all these mean that some new structure of world power is emerging. What kind?

There seem to be three candidates. The first NWO, ostensibly an idealistic one, is a genuinely collective system of security under the United Nations. This idea is both impractical and objectionable. The UN is a shifting series of makeshift alliances which can provide security only in rare instances, like the Kuwait crisis, where the aggressor has no important allies on the Security Council. And even if UN vetoes were abolished, a "world democracy" in which tyrannies with small populations outvoted populous democracies would be an absurdity.

The second NWO is a superpower condominium with the U.S. and the Soviet Union between them running the world under a cloak of UN diplomacy. That concept, however, depends on the Soviet Union's both remaining a world power and becoming a more democratic one. With Gorbachev's retreat into neo-Stalinism and economic inefficiency, it is doomed.

That leaves the third NWO: a *pax Americana*. The Gulf crisis has been a dry run for a world in which the U.S. would be the dominant power enforcing collective security with the support of allies and the UN's blessing. As this NWO develops, U.S. allies not giving military help would, in effect, be taxed to pay the costs. Given Uncle Sam's dominance, however, U.S. interests would largely determine the international rules of the game, UN decisions, and what constituted a threat to peace. Highly satisfactory.

Seeking domestic support for his Gulf policy, President Bush has sometimes seemed to commend NWOs 1 and 2. But his policy has been an almost pure expression of NWO 3. If the price of a *pax Americana* is calling it a new world order, conservatives should be prepared to pay it.

■ Major General Viktor I. Filatov, editor of the Soviet *Military-Historical Journal* and an enthusiastic supporter of Red Army crackdowns all round, has been livening up his magazine with excerpts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and so on. Even in the looser atmosphere of today's Moscow, where advocates of Communist repression can freely speak their minds, this has raised eyebrows.

Filatov defended his editorial policy to the *New York Times*: "I regard the *Protocols* as a normal piece of literature, like the Bible or the Koran." Ah, literature. That's okay, then.

Robert Conquest, who is a poet as well as a Sovietologist, calls this "the Mapplethorpe defense." That provokes the further thought: Will the National Endowment for the Arts subsidize an American publication of the *Protocols*? And if not, won't the "arts community" denounce that as censorship?

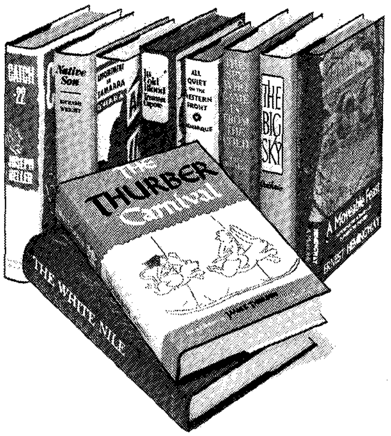
We can only speculate. Still, the fact that today's most challenging work in the arts has the patronage of the Soviet Defense Ministry gives a fresh meaning to the term *avant-garde*.

■ I am delighted to announce that William J. Bennett is joining NATIONAL REVIEW as a senior editor. We welcome conservatism's fighting philosopher—and look forward to his taking off the gloves. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

PERMANENT PLEASURES

Choose one of these fine works and save up to $285.

No obligation to buy any more books.

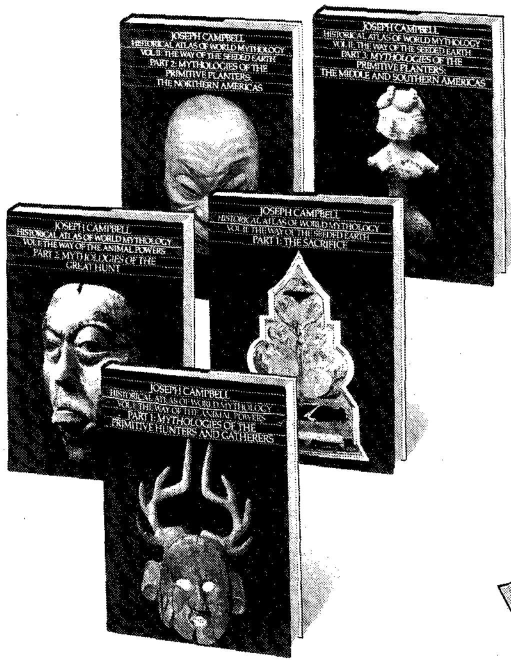


BOMC Modern Classics

for **$29.95** (Club prices total $150)

Treat yourself to 10 of the most critically acclaimed books of the past half century, combined in one set. Produced especially by Book-of-the-Month Club, each hardcover volume re-creates the publisher's original edition and will make a lasting addition to your library.

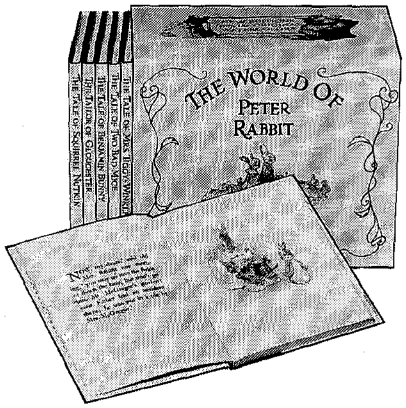
Set includes: *All Quiet on the Western Front, Appointment in Samarra, The Big Sky, Catch-22, In Cold Blood, A Moveable Feast, Native Son, The Spy Who Came in From the Cold, The Thurber Carnival,* and *The White Nile.*



Joseph Campbell's Historical Atlas of World Mythology

for **$34.95** (Pub. prices total $250)

This masterwork—the culmination of Campbell's brilliant career—traces the saga of humankind's spiritual awakening. In five lavishly illustrated volumes, Campbell shows how our ancestors lived and what they believed, shedding new light on who we are and where we come from. Insightful, illuminating, challenging, the *Historical Atlas of World Mythology* is a vibrant introduction to the past—and to the mind of one of this century's greatest thinkers. 99 4-color maps; 1,152 photographs and drawings.



The World of Peter Rabbit™

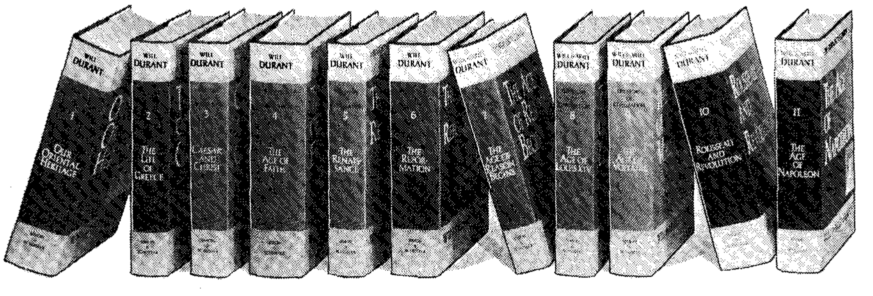
for **$34.95** (Pub. prices total $115)

Here are all 23 volumes of Beatrix Potter's original editions. Every story is here, from *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* to *The Tale of Little Pig Robinson* as well as all of Potter's original color and black-and-white drawings and her introductions that explain the origin of each tale. Special custom-designed slipcase.

The Times Atlas of the World Seventh Comprehensive Edition

for **$34.95** (Pub. price $149.95)

"The best atlas now available in English."—*The New York Times.* The only atlas printed in 8 colors for clear reading of geographic and political features. This volume contains 292 pages of color maps and a 277-page index with over 200,000 entries.



The Story of Civilization by Will and Ariel Durant

for **$34.95** (Pub. prices total $335.45)

For almost half a century Will and Ariel Durant traced the continuity of world history—the religions and philosophies, the political and economic tides, the arts and sciences, the customs and conquests—to show the foundations of society today. A Book-of-the-Month Club exclusive for almost 50 years, the Durants' illustrated masterwork is history come alive.

Facts About Membership. As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and more than 150 other books, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more other books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege:* If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit. *Cancellations:* You may cancel membership at any time by notifying Book-of-the-Month Club. We can cancel your membership if you elect not to buy at least one book in any six-month period. Join today. With savings and choices like these, Book-of-the-Month Club is where book lovers belong.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., P.O. Box 8803, Camp Hill, PA 17011-8803 **A123-2-2**

Check one box only.

☐ **913.** The Story of Civ. **$34.95**

☐ **922.** World of Peter Rabbit **$34.95**

☐ **946.** Times Atlas of the World **$34.95**

☐ **934.** Hist. Atlas of Mythology **$34.95**

☐ **957.** BOMC Modern Classics **$29.95**

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the item I have checked at left, billing me for the appropriate amount, plus shipping and handling charges, with no obligation to buy another book. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Name____________________ 1-74
(Please print clearly)

Address____________________Apt.______

City____________________

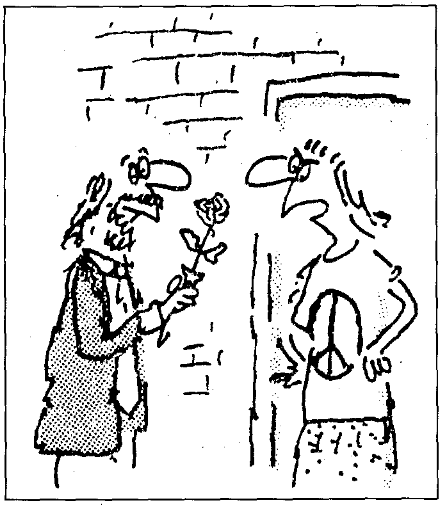
State____________________Zip______

Prices shown are U.S. prices. Outside the U.S. prices are generally higher.
All orders subject to approval. © 1991 BOMC.

ON THE RECORD

■ Lest we forget, of the Democratic senators who voted against the use of force in Iraq, six—**Sam Nunn**, **Lloyd Bentsen**, **Bill Bradley**, **Paul Simon**, **Joseph Biden**, and **Bob Kerrey**—figure on lists of possible 1992 presidential candidates. Two others, **Albert Gore** of Tennessee and **Charles Robb** of Virginia, joined a number of other Southern and Western Democrats in supporting the President. . . . On the House side, two potential Democratic presidential candidates who took active part in orchestrating opposition to the war are Majority Whip **Richard Gephardt** (Mo.) and Colorado's **Patricia Schroeder** (of the House Armed Services Committee). . . . Connecticut's **Joseph Lieberman** was only Northeastern Democrat to vote against sanctions, for military action. . . . Sens. Nunn & Co. may have made a costly choice. First post–Desert Storm poll (*New York Times*/CBS) shows only 16 per cent of Americans still think sanctions alone would have forced **Saddam Hussein** out of Kuwait. Same poll showed 79 per cent think the U.S. did the right thing; President **Bush**'s popularity is up to 86 per cent. . . . Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** (D., N.Y.) is fast backtracking from his No vote on military action. He told big New York Jewish rally protesting Saddam's unprovoked attacks on Israel that allies must now "go beyond" their original objective of ending the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. . . . Media Monitor, which regularly assesses bias on TV news, monitored 2,334 CBS, NBC, and ABC stories on the Persian Gulf from August through December. It found that 61 per cent opposed or questioned American intervention in the Gulf; only 39 per cent supported it, at a time when the public favored action after January 15 by 63 per cent. Bush's best press, says Media Monitor, came on NBC (**Tom Brokaw**), 59 per cent positive compared to 44 per cent positive on ABC (**Peter Jennings**), and 40 per cent on CBS (**Dan Rather**). . . . Political analyst **William Schneider** feels the issue may be perceived by the public at large as "wimpitude"—with the Democrats reinvoking the party's image of weakness.

■ The Soviet crackdown in the Baltic could prove costly in material ways. Sen. **Orrin Hatch** (R., Utah), in *New York Times* op-ed piece, has called for cancellation of February summit and of $1-billion agricultural credit, and retention of **Jackson–Vanik** restrictions on trade. . . . Columnist **William Safire** says **Mikhail Gorbachev** has "fired on his Fort Sumter" at moment when eyes of world are elsewhere. . . . Czechoslovakian President **Vaclav Havel** has called for joint resolution by former Warsaw Pact countries condemning Kremlin crackdown on Lithuania and Latvia. . . . Scandinavians worried that Soviet military, forced to retreat from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, may station those troops in Baltics and in Kola Peninsula. Modern tanks have replaced vintage T-55s in those areas; several squadrons of combat aircraft have arrived from East Germany and Hungary. . . . **Lech Walesa** fears Soviet military may try to re-establish control in Central Europe, and calls for speedier negotiations on Russian troop pullout from Poland. . . . Belgian Foreign Minister **Mark Eyskens** says EC should reconsider its billion-dollar aid package. "We must explain clearly to the Soviet Union that our aid is conditional," he said. . . . Moscow reaction to criticism is often throwback to Stalinist obduracy. Such as Prime Minister **Valentin Pavlov**'s putdown of energetic relief efforts by Germany: "From the economic point of view," Pavlov told TASS, "all West German food aid is enough to feed Moscow for just one day and not even a full day." . . . Gorbachev's attempts to crack down on his own press—TASS is already back in line, as is *Pravda*—not universally successful. When KGB raided the offices of the independent Interfax news service and seized its equipment, it was back in business the next day in quarters furnished by **Boris Yeltsin**. . . . Finally, the killings in Vilnius and Riga have provoked major protest marches not only in Moscow, but in Leningrad, Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Donetsk, Kishinev, and Kaliningrad.



"Is this a veiled attack on my unilateralist beliefs?"

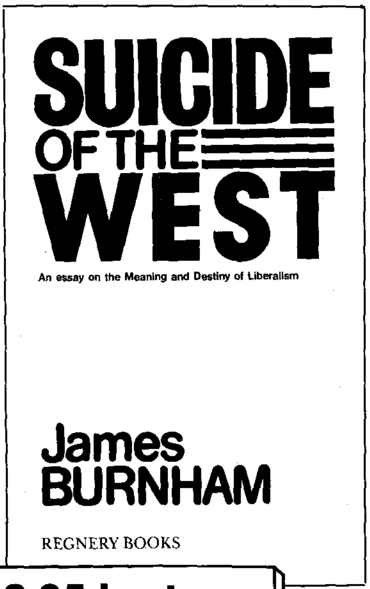
© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

■ **Brent Bozell**'s Media Research Center is putting together *National Press Directory for Conservatives*. Conservative journalists, radio and television staffers, columnists, press secretaries, public-affairs directors, etc. are urged to write in (111 S. Columbus St., Alexandria, Va. 22314) to be listed. Directory, which will encourage networking among conservative journalists, will be updated periodically. The more complete the initial list the better. . . . American Family Association (P. O. Drawer 2440, Tupelo, Miss. 38803) is taking on function of a Christian anti-defamation league, monitoring and publicizing putdowns of Christianity in radio, television, and press. . . . Legion of Decency II: Catholic News Service has set up 900 lines (900-PREVIEW) to inform parents on the moral values of movies and videos. The service, says Catholic News Director **Thomas Lorsung**, will assist parents "trying to guide their children to proper viewing habits."

■ Going the rounds in Washington: Why do Kuwait and the United States need each other? Answer: Because one is a banking system without a country, and the other a country without a banking system.

BACK IN PRINT

— the modern classic that gives us the most profound (and prophetic) insights into the liberal mind ever put to paper


SUICIDE OF THE WEST

An essay on the Meaning and Destiny of Liberalism

James BURNHAM

REGNERY BOOKS

$18.95 in stores — yours FREE!

This is the book that dissects liberalism deep down to its rotten core . . . as no book ever has. Thanks to Burnham's insights, we finally see that strange amalgam of selfrighteousness, guilt, arrogance, double standard, good intention, selective indignation, selective compassion and fuzzy logic that forms the mind and psychology of the liberal. A hint of the riches:

- Why the liberal cannot rule.
- Why liberalism is the ideology of suicide.
- Why liberalism clashes with Christianity.
- The common ancestors of liberalism and Communism.
- Why liberals sneer at patriotism.
- Very precisely: how liberalism lies at the root of race riots, murderous taxes, national surrender and the crime explosion — and why liberals are helpless to do anything about their own follies.
- The inner drives that impel liberals to war on the Right — while giving the Left an ever-so-gentle tap on the wrist, at worst.
- EXTRA! Burnham's fascinating "39 Articles of Liberalism," an intriguing test that you, or anyone, can take to determine your "ideological quotient." You'll be astonished at how accurately it pinpoints anyone's political slant.

If you haven't yet immersed yourself in this classic, prepare for one of the mind-opening experiences of your life.

Important for Christians and Jews

Why do so many religious people follow the siren song of liberalism? James Burnham throws light on corners once dark.

Enthusiasm for this classic, all across the spectrum

"Despite the fact that James Burnham's *Suicide of the West* has not been given the attention it merits, it will find its way and make history. It is brilliantly written, clearly reasoned, and remarkably restrained, given the subject matter: the sickness of Western civilization and its causes."—Irene Corbally Kuhn, *Christian Economics*

"Expounds with corrosive clarity the right-wing case . . . I am sure that the gravest mistake we can commit is to underrate the importance of his attack on liberal thinking and liberalism in government."—R. H. S. Crossman, *Partisan Review*

"If any book may rouse the friends of order, justice and freedom to intelligent action against the grim enemies of civilization, Mr. Burnham has given us just such an instrument." —Russell Kirk

"James Burnham has written a book about Liberalism for which the world has been aching. It is worth more to the West than the year's gross national product, more than all our planes and bombs — with all of these, we have still been losing out in the world. But this book is not only a pathologist's report. It gives the key for the recovery of the West."...—William F. Buckley, Jr.

How to get this mind-opening book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at give-away prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, free and postpaid, James Burnham's seminal study of the liberal mind, the $18.95 *Suicide of the West*. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

NR-182

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

City ____________ State ________ Zip ________

THE WEEK

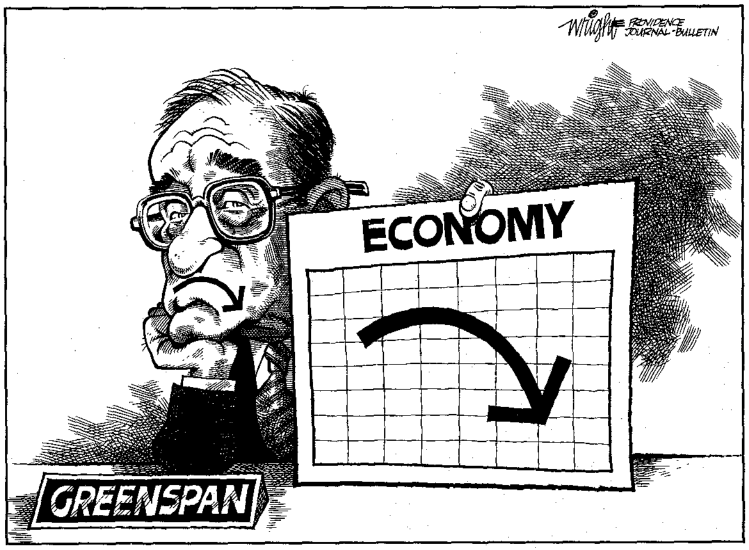
■ The Marines are requiring reporters who want to cover any Kuwait offensive to pass a physical-fitness test. Once more the First Amendment is sacrificed on the altar of Mars.

■ The nation's capital had its first real taste of antiwar protest the Saturday after the air strikes began, and there was a strong sense of *déjà vu*. This was not just because of the desperate attempt of the mostly youngish crowd to appropriate the symbols of another day—peace signs and tie-dyed T-shirts were conspicuous—but also because the protests were dominated by the same visceral anti-Americanism. Just as the protests of the 1960s saw Vietcong flags fluttering overhead, the thousands who jammed Lafayette Square represented a mélange of interests, from a former Black Panther to the Marxist Workers World Party to gay-rights groups. Although many political movements have been derided as "single issue," the willingness on the Left to embrace any and all causes suggests that the only principle uniting it is a loathing of American society. Indeed, the Reverend Shadow Senator Jesse L. Jackson showed up on Saturday after agreeing to marry his planned pro-D.C.-statehood rally with the hard-Left antiwar protest. In their prosecution of the war, George Bush, Colin Powell, and Dick Cheney have evidently learned the hard lessons of Vietnam. The same cannot be said of the peace movement.

■ Most congressional critics quickly came around to supporting their Commander-in-Chief once he had committed America to battle. Not so the Black Caucus. The House resolution authorizing the President to use force passed by an overwhelming 399 to 6 majority; of the six nay votes cast, five were from the Caucus. Ditto for five of the six abstentions. This comes on the heels of a suit, spearheaded by past Caucus chairman Ron Dellums, to prevent the President from attacking Iraq without congressional approval. While the legislature's prerogative to declare war is certainly a legitimate issue, the Caucus's bragging about its effort "to strike a blow against offensive U.S. military aggression" shows clearly that it is less concerned with constitutional questions than with impeding America's efforts to protect her interests. Caucus support for the resolution was limited to Gary Franks, its lone Republican. Maybe Peter Jennings will get around to asking how it is that Jesse Jackson and the Black Caucus represent black opinion while General Colin Powell and the thousands of black soldiers in the Gulf do not.

■ The peaceniks have drafted the environmentalists (to the extent that there is a distinction) in the effort to turn public opinion against the war. Taking their cue from Saddam Hussein, who has threatened to ignite the Kuwaiti oilfields, they predict dire environmental consequences, along the lines of the greenhouse effect, so give peace a chance. Well. Saddam's threat to ignite the oilfields is on the order of his pledge to liberate the Golan Heights. An entire oilfield cannot be ignited; oilfields, when they burn, burn on the surface. Such fires are dangerous and expensive. But they have happened before without blotting the sun from the sky. War is less of a polluter than nature. The Krakatoa eruption in 1893 sent tidal waves as far as Madagascar, and reddened sunsets worldwide for years. The Iraqis are going to get a lot of TNT equivalents dropped on them in the next few weeks, and they will undoubtedly set off some of their own. But the smoke that is produced will be the least of our problems.

■ Wars have traditionally been bullish for the economy. We expect this one will be no exception. So far Desert Storm is being fought with weapons taken "off the shelf"—most of them developed, produced, and paid for during the Reagan years. But spent ammunition, missiles, and lost aircraft must be replaced. The rise in military orders will trigger an immediate rise in defense-industry employment. The deficit will surely rise, but the increase will be muted by the multi-year nature of weapons-procurement contracts, together with the financial contributions of Japan and Germany. We do not expect, however, that the direct economic stimulus from this buildup will approach that of other wars: only 1.3



per cent of GNP goes to weapons procurement today, compared to 3.3 per cent during Korea and 2.3 per cent, on average, during the Vietnam years. An end to the recession will require a rebound in consumer spending, which accounts for two-thirds of all dollars spent in the U.S. But the first week of war brought a record rise in the stock market and a record fall in the price of oil, two dramatic confidence-building factors. And unlike previous wars this one will, in all likelihood, be accompanied by falling inflation and interest rates, giving consumers another psychological boost. Among the other positive aspects of this war: the virtual demise of OPEC.

■ Washingtonians thought the Marion Barry era had ended last month with his departure from office. There would be no more jokes about His Honor presenting visitors with "the kilo to the city," no more signs on City Hall declaring the building a "workfree drugplace." But the former mayor is now up for appointment as a "visiting professor" of criminal justice at the University of the District of Columbia. Apart from the benefits this arrangement would bring to students at UDC, who could learn criminal justice from a real, live criminal, it also would give Mr. Barry another two years on the public payroll—just long enough for his city pension to kick in. UDC chose well. Unless it could get Jesse Jackson to accept a "shadow" post on the faculty—with a title, salary, and no duties whatever—it could not find a man more learned in the ways of Washington.

■ Management has announced that the *New York Daily News*, once the city's largest paper, may have to close down. Faced with a declining readership and increased competition, the *News* also had to contend with union perks—delivery trucks leaving the printing plants half empty; pressrooms staffed with twice as many pressmen as necessary—which cost the paper $115 million over the last ten years. When the *News* tried to get a handle on its chaotic labor policies, its unions went on strike, following up the October walkout with weeks of vandalism and threats to news vendors. And more than threats: 11 union victims have had to be hospitalized. But New York City took it in stride, because it is, as it boasts, a "union town." That's a town which is about to lose one paper, and which has already lost the rule of law.

■ The Supreme Court must decide whether to reinstate a $10-million libel suit brought by Jeffrey Masson, a former psychoanalyst, against journalist Janet Malcolm. Masson charged Miss Malcolm with making up quotations in a piece she did on him for *The New Yorker*. Miss Malcolm maintains that her case is important "to all defenders of the First Amendment. Otherwise, who'd care what I said? I'm a sleazeball journalist, basically." Masson, who objected especially to one quotation in which he identified himself as "an intellectual gigolo," admitted, "I am an intellectual gigolo. A real one, too. But if I didn't say it, Janet Malcolm shouldn't be able to say I said it." Chief Justice William Rehnquist commented that, while the Court would render "a formal decision" later, his "initial instinct" was to "spank both of them on their fannies, and send 'em home."

■ Mysteries of Government, Installment #11,202. Several years ago, the General Services Administration tested offices of the U.S. Forest Service in Montana, decided they had too much light, and removed a bunch of light bulbs. Recently a worker in the offices, who wears contact lenses and says he needs more light to read, asked for some bulbs to put in the empty sockets. The General Services Administration returned with a light meter, pronounced the light level fully in accordance with regulations, and told the worker if he wanted more light bulbs he would have to bring a note from his doctor.

■ First, Milli Vanilli had to return their Grammy. Now pop goes the Nobel.

Into Battle

'AT THE TOP," Winston Churchill wrote of wartime leadership, "there are great simplifications. An accepted leader has only to be sure of what it is best to do. . . . If he trips, he must be sustained. If he makes mistakes, they must be covered. If he sleeps, he must not be wantonly disturbed. If he is no good, he must be poleaxed."

When the UN deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait came and went, and when an additional day of grace came and went in its turn, George Bush decided that it was best to go to war. That decision was the correct one. The prospect of an outlaw state using the plundered oil profits of its former neighbor to fatten its arsenals, while incidentally squeezing the world economy, could not be accepted. Nor could the outlaw be allowed to retire with its honor, its warmaking capability and some of its ill-gotten gains intact—the only possible result, it became clear, of a diplomatic "solution." That left war. It cannot have been a decision that President Bush made with an untroubled heart. He was in combat himself, 45 years ago. He had to bail out of a burning plane, which took two fellow crewmen to their deaths. He knows what General Sherman knew. But when the moment came, he chose a bad war today over a much worse one later.

Over the last five and a half months, NATIONAL REVIEW has given strong support to the President's general approach but raised a number of reservations about specific actions—questioning the wisdom of various diplomatic feelers; taxing the President for not having gone to Congress earlier to get a declaration of war; wondering whether the vast coalition he had stapled together would hinder rather than help him. We stand by these reservations, intellectually. But since all of them (except our criticism of his too-cozy embrace of Syria) were in a hypothetical mode—*if* this is the direction of his policy, *then* it will come to grief—we now sweep them, practically, into the desk drawer. Mr. Bush was willing to negotiate, but not to give away the store; he did go to Congress, and his success in winning its approval shows that he picked the right time. Most remarkably, the coalition has held—a testimony, to be sure, to the shared sense of threat, but also to the President's skills at retail diplomacy. His instincts were right, and his vision was clear. He has earned the country's, and the world's, gratitude.

Another "great simplification" of wartime is in the nature of the task at hand. Here, too, in picking the strategy for beating Iraq and driving it out of Kuwait, the Administration looks to be on the right track. The Pentagon opened with its long suit, air power. Iraq, which survived an eight-year bloodbath with Iran, has never experienced anything like this. Its air force was pinned to the ground, or destroyed, while its communications were crippled—essentially demoting its military machine to the level of a World War I force. When Saddam Hussein launched his diversionary Scuds at Israel, America shipped in a supply of the Patriot anti-missile missiles that had been defending Saudi Arabia, and refocused its attention on the key to the situation—weakening the half-million-man infantry force in Kuwait and Basra. The chipper predictions of a days-long conflict, rashly uttered by some congressmen and journalists, soon gave way to the Pentagon's own estimate: that the air phase of the war would last for weeks, on into February. This is a prudent decision. The goal of strategy is always to convert an opponent's strength into a weakness. Iraq's ground forces may be potent, and they are certainly dug in. They are also far from their commander-in-chief, and from their sources of supply. A pummeling by B-52s, with no spare parts and little word from headquarters, is not ideal mental preparation for fighting. The longer they have to bear it, the better for America's "grunts."

One aspect of wartime can never be simplified, for it stretches into the complexities of peace—and that is the question of war aims. One reasonable war aim—the reduction of Iraq's advanced warmaking power—looks as if it has already been achieved. Saddam's gas and nuclear plants are in ruins, and the days of his remaining missile launchers are numbered. A second obvious war aim, declared by Mr. Bush on August 16—the liberation of Kuwait—looks as if it will be accomplished, though perhaps only on the far side of tears and blood. The accomplishment of these two aims will probably bring about a third—the end of Saddam Hussein himself. Few nations, least of all Arab nations, like losers. Still, if Saddam does not join his relatives in Mauretania, or his predecessors in an early death, the U.S. and the allies should make his doing so a condition of peace. The torturer of American POWs cannot be allowed to retain even the remnants of power.

Beyond these goals, what of the New World Order? President Bush continues to use the phrase, which, if he means it in a legalistic sense, would be unfortunate, even fatuous. "The mind of American statesmanship," wrote George Kennan, "gropes with unfailing persistence" for "formal criteria of a juridi-

WHAT NATIONAL REVIEW SAID

"President Bush has shown skill and fortitude in building up a powerful military force in Saudi Arabia backed by diplomatic support from virtually the entire world. We expect him to bite the bullet of military action when he judges the time is right to reduce Iraq's power to harm. If in the end he retreats, leaving Saddam Hussein to continue his nuclear and chemical buildup for the next aggression, we will criticize him as unambiguously then as we support him now—and we will have earned the right to do so. Those conservatives who by their carping defeatism have made the task of defeating Saddam Hussein appreciably more difficult will have no such right" (September 17).

"Nor do we like the reliance on an early ground assault on Kuwait implied in these movements. A severe, and if necessary prolonged, air operation makes more sense, because it would reduce American casualties and allow us to achieve some of our objectives directly—particularly the destruction of Iraqi military industry" (November 19).

"George Bush has many flaws, but he has one great attribute: the steel that enables humane men to fight necessary wars" (December 31).

"Whether as the result of war or of diplomacy backed by the threat of war, Iraq must withdraw fully from Kuwait, make reparations for the brutalities its army has committed, and submit to an internationally supervised reduction of its warmaking capability. If war is indeed required to achieve these aims, President Bush should not shirk from waging it" (January 28).

cal nature" with which to tidy up the world. The world being what it is, America gropes in vain. This war is not going to establish the rule of law throughout the world, much less in the Middle East. But it may encourage a greater stability among nations.

If Mr. Bush is content to interpret his phrase in that Burkean light, he may indeed get what he wants. This war is about removing a clear and present danger—to a region's peace, to the world's economic security. In removing it, we suggest to other despots the folly of excessive ambition; we establish a principle that gross lawlessness has consequences; and we fix the U.S. as the main architect of this greater stability and the largest influence on its everyday operation. In the absence of a rival superpower conspiring to undermine these lessons in pursuit of its own self-interest, there is a chance that they may take deeper root in men's minds and foster not, perhaps, a new world order, but at least a more orderly world.

Rush from Judgment

ONCE AGAIN this nation with the soul of a church has gone to war. The decision to counterattack against Iraq's aggression was preceded by a remarkable exercise in democratic governance. For five months, Americans debated the rights and wrongs of military action. Among the remarkable aspects of the debate was the almost complete irrelevance of our institutions of putative moral leadership. This is not to say that the

OPEN LETTER

To the Protestants of the United States of America:

We are worried by the news that some representatives of your churches are hindering the efforts of your President, George Bush, who is trying to force the Iraqi dictator to an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. Your church representatives fear that Kuwait could be attacked without sufficient reason and in an inappropriate manner. We understand their fears, but we raise the following questions: Do the representatives of your Protestant churches fear with the same intensity that the initiative to stop the dictator, for which the democratic world has finally come together, may gradually weaken and eventually collapse? Do they fear with the same intensity that Saddam Hussein could continue his crimes against the Arabs of his country and his genocide of the Kurds in Iraq? Do they fear with the same intensity that the aggressor could retain a part of his spoils and of his imperial prestige, prepare another aggression, and start a war that would be much worse than the war which threatens us today?

. . . For the last seventy years, evidence of the crimes of the Soviet Communist regime against the inhabitants of the USSR has been accumulating. For the last forty years, evidence of Communist crimes in the socialist states that were established after World War II has been accumulating. The representatives of your churches, however, remained indifferent to this evidence. There were some exceptions among your church representatives, which we highly appreciate. But the World Council of Churches became an efficient ideological and political tool of Communist expansion. Most of the representatives of the Protestant churches in the U.S.A. did not notice it. They continued their moral and financial support of the World Council of Churches, which . . . bears part of the responsibility for the Communist crimes all over the world. The betrayal of the Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Jakunin by the World Council of Churches from 1979 till 1987 was the betrayal of all victims of the Communist regimes.

Your church representatives have underestimated the criminal nature of the Marxist regimes. Now they underestimate the criminal nature of the regime of Saddam Hussein. They defend peace in their speeches, but in reality they help prepare a terrible war in the same way as Chamberlain and Daladier prepared the war in 1938 by giving Czechoslovakia to Hitler in the foolish belief that they were saving peace. We highly appreciate the initiative of your President in the Gulf area. Mr. Bush defends peace, human rights, and democracy in the whole world by his vigorous stand against the aggressor. We do not think that your President and his advisors are infallible, but the representatives of the Protestant churches . . . should only criticize Mr. Bush in such a manner as not to weaken his initiative against the criminal dictator.

Several Protestant signatories of Charter 77, Czechoslovakia: Milan Balabán, Zdeněk Bárta, Tomáš Cejp, Jan Dus, Michael Dus, Anna Dusová, Pavla Dusová, Pavel Hlaváč, Miroslav Jirounek, Petr Kadlec, Svatopluk Karásek, Jan Keller, Marta Kellerová, Jan Kozlík, Petra Parkánová, Jan Payne, Petr Payne, Zdeněk Pinc, Hana Ponická, Tomáš Pštross, Miloš Rejchrt, Miroslav Růžička, František Silar, Jan Simsa, Martin Simsa, Vladimír Turek, Veronika Tydlitátová, Jan Tydlitát, Josef Vydrář.

churches were silent. Far from it. But in their eagerness to be relevant to policy, where they have neither authority nor competence, the churches made themselves irrelevant to moral deliberation.

When in this connection we speak of "the churches" we refer to those to which the media have paid attention. Not all the major religious groups in the country have declared themselves in opposition to American policy. While there is no national organization to speak for the fifty million evangelical Protestants, there is every reason to believe that most of them accepted, however reluctantly, the necessity of military force. Jewish organizations, with a particular interest in the well-being of Israel, have been generally supportive. There are about five hundred thousand local churches of all kinds in America, from scruffy storefronts to sedate cathedrals. We know that the majority of people in these churches support U.S. policy because the majority of Americans belong to these churches, and the overwhelming majority of Americans support U.S. policy.

So why are we told that religious leadership opposes our policy in the Gulf? Because those who tell us that have paid attention to two sectors of leadership—to the mainline Protestant and a few Orthodox churches connected with the National Council of Churches, and to the Roman Catholic bishops. Controlled by refugees from radicalisms past, the NCC is manifestly pleased with its star billing in *The Return of the Peace Movement*. These churches specialize in no-fault prophecy. Never mind that they have been proved wrong on almost every public issue of consequence for decades, and most egregiously wrong about the terror of Communism (see the accompanying letter from Czech Protestants).

The risk of military action is "out of proportion to any conceivable gain," declared 32 heads of NCC churches. Which is what they have been saying for years about any and every U.S. military measure aimed at deterring aggression and securing peace. It is one of the less happy evidences of interreligious rapprochement that for liberal Protestant leaders, as for some Muslims, America has become the Great Satan. The mainline Protestant leaders of an earlier time declared America to be the "redeemer nation" and source of universal blessing. Their heirs today declare America to be a universal curse, the chief source of the innumerable miseries of our time.

In comparison with the NCC, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) is a center of religious and moral sobriety. And yet, in the great moral debate over U.S. policy in the Gulf, the bishops, too, failed their flock and their nation. Those who turned to them for the bread of moral guidance were offered the stone of political advocacy. We disagree with the policy backed by the bishops, but our complaint is not with the bishops' politics. Our complaint is that the bishops acted like politicians.

Moreover, they evidenced an unseemly condescension toward those who are in positions of political responsibility. In November the bishops declared that they "seek to draw attention to the ethical dimensions of these choices, so that they are not ignored or neglected in a focus on simply military and geopolitical considerations." The offensiveness of such clericalist conceit was compounded by the bishops' then concluding, precisely on the basis of military and geopolitical considerations, that the U.S. should "continue to pursue the course of peaceful pressure and not resort to war."

Contrary to their presumption, the bishops did not introduce the moral dimension into the debate. They did not even introduce the traditional moral criteria for a just war. Those criteria and how they are to be applied was the subject already being debated in numerous forums, not least the United States Congress. What the bishops introduced was partisan advocacy coated with moral pretension. This is disappointing especially because they weakened their credibility on other great questions in our national life that are matters of moral principle and not simply of prudential judgment. In their zeal to be relevant to policy prescription, they made themselves irrelevant to one of the great moments of moral deliberation in American history.

For America continues to be, in the words of G. K. Chesterton, a nation with the soul of a church. Even if it is such despite the leadership of some of its churches.

Post-Victory Remarks

Helped by the Brits and, with a face,
The French, who like to run the place,
Americans supplied the mass
That did the job (though not in TASS)
While Japanese were pleased to toil
With no disruptions in their oil.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Right Stuff

DURING the last phase of the Carter Administration, with Harold Brown at Defense, a U.S. military buildup tardily got under way. The Brezhnev crash program, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the inadequacy of the "Desert I" helicopter fiasco were just too much. The military buildup accelerated in the Reagan–Weinberger years, with the expenditure of $2 trillion.

This was said to reflect a "bloated" military–industrial complex, and, indeed, there was waste and profiteering, probably inseparable from an accelerated military buildup. But the present secretary of defense, Richard Cheney, has signaled a serious attempt to root it out with his cancellation of the A-12 Navy attack bomber. The project was 18 months behind schedule and $2.7 billion over budget.

Nonetheless, the Reagan–Weinberger state-of-the-art weapons went into devastating operation in the opening days of the Gulf war. A mini-SDI, the Patriot anti-missile missile, shot Scuds out of the sky. The cruise missiles were accurate, devastating in effect, and because of their extreme accuracy saved many Iraqi civilian lives. Yet both of these advanced systems were almost scrapped in the congressional budgeting process.

Reagan and Weinberger were not just buying coffee makers and toilet seats. Their defense buildup, having won the cold war, may now lay the foundations for a more stable world. And their enthusiasm for Star Wars has been justified by the success of the Patriot against Saddam's Scuds. Maybe we will now get a defense debate as sophisticated as our weaponry.

Return of the Evil Empire

THE ASTONISHING changes in the Soviet empire are being succeeded by an astonishing reversion. The killings in Lithuania and Latvia irresistibly call to mind Budapest in 1956. Can these things have been approved, or even instigated, by the Nobel Peace Prize–winning father of *glasnost*, Mikhail Gorbachev?

Indeed they have. Faced with the accelerated logic of his reforms, Gorbachev has panicked and cast his lot with the apparatchiks of the old order. He has moved to concentrate power in his own hands, surrounded himself with hard-liners, proposed restrictions on free speech, and abandoned plans for moving toward a market economy based on private property. All along, it appears, he had thought of reforms as a matter of state policy rather than of right. He had imagined he could have it both ways: expanded liberties under an essentially unchanged Soviet state. It turns out his reservations were sincere: he had no intention of dismantling socialism.

But the new freedoms he had conceived as limited proved explosive. With the first relaxation of Soviet repression, in Russia and the captive nations alike, it became clear that everyone who was not a Communist (as well as some who were) was an anti-Communist. More than one hundred thousand Muscovites marched last Sunday to protest the Baltic slaughters and to demand Gorbachev's resignation. His great achievement has been to make his subjects unafraid of him. They have been over into the future, and they have no intention of going back.

Gorbachev's real nature was discerned by those close to him while many in the West were still lauding him as a hero. The most dramatic signal was the recent resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze, who warned of impending dictatorship. Others in both the government and the press are defying Gorbachev too, and Russia may have found a better champion of freedom in Boris Yeltsin.

The West has no more important long-term interest than the liberalization of the Soviet Union, including the manumission of its assorted "republics." Yeltsin, to whom the Bush Administration displays a strange coolness (perhaps, as we have speculated, because of his resemblance to Ronald Reagan), is the natural vehicle of our present hopes though he is likely to be superseded by leaders untainted by a Communist past, if and when greater democracy is achieved. While the struggle is still taking place under his leadership, however, it should be the policy of this nation to assist him by all prudent means.

The United States could see to it, for example, that food and other aid went directly to needy people via Western agencies and not through the Soviet government. We should establish consulates in each of the republics, with a broader range of diplomatic representation than consulates generally provide, thus dealing with the republics separately even before they achieve independence. We should confirm our long-established recognition of the Baltic states and give it meaning. And we should withdraw any financial aid or advice from the central government, and direct it through the republics. What we can do is, of course, limited. But by dealing with nascent forces of independence directly, as far as possible, we can endow them with a certain measure of reality and greater prospects of eventual success.

All Are Welcome

Congressman Foley and Senator Nunn
Suddenly march to the sound of the gun,
Following Blücher's maneuver as they
Clamber aboard crying, "Missiles aweigh!"

W. H. VON DREELE

Not Quite Emancipation

IN *Brown* v. *Board of Education* the Supreme Court decided that racial discrimination by the government in student school assignments was unconstitutional. Quibbles aside about the Court's legal and sociological analyses, that was the proper decision. But in *Brown II*, decided a year later, in 1955, the Court stated that a school system was not to be required to alter its school assignments so as to pass constitutional muster "at once," but only "as soon as practicable" and "with all deliberate speed." The problem here, as Professor Lino Graglia observed, is that "if racial discrimination in the assignment of pupils to schools is unconstitutional, the remedy seems obvious and simple: assignment not based on race . . . this could mostly have been solved in a few weeks or months." Instead, the Court generated a decade-long effort by federal courts to develop convoluted school-desegregation "plans" and to assess the "good faith" of communities in preparing such plans. Inevitably, in later Court decisions, the confused direction of *Brown II* metamorphosed into requirements of racial integration and "balance" achieved through such devices as forced school busing and prohibition of neighborhood school assignments.

Lower federal courts have now been directed by the Supreme Court to end their supervision if school districts can demonstrate that they have complied in "good faith" with previous judicial orders and eliminated the "vestiges of past discrimination . . . to the extent practicable." The plaintiff in this case, the Oklahoma City school system, has been under federal control for thirty years.

What the decision means is that some number of the five hundred or so school districts subject to federal supervision will now proceed to federal court and embark upon five more years of litigation with civil-rights groups in an effort to persuade a federal judge that they have met the vague new standards set forth by the current 5 to 3 Court majority. The assistant attorney general for civil rights has pointedly indicated that there will be no support for these efforts by the Department of Justice. It would be our guess that most school districts will not bother, either because their leadership shares the values of the contemporary civil-rights community or—most likely—because their areas have through "white flight" become so overwhelmingly black that it really doesn't make much difference one way or the other.

Let us not appear churlish with the Supreme Court. Justice Rehnquist's decision was a welcome one—particularly his emphasis upon local control of schools and his focus upon official, state-sponsored discrimination—and some viable school districts will, as a result, eventually be allowed to re-administer their own affairs. It is only that much damage has already been done to the educational and social fabric of the country by the Court's school-desegregation decisions; little of that can be repaired by one decision.

Looking beyond the Valley

Presumably in some dark drawer
A plan is ready once the war
Permits Dan Rather to relax
And contemplate his income tax;
But if I were a betting man
Whose nerves require breakfast bran
To play a hand with self-restraint,
I'd lay you ten to one there ain't.

W. H. VON DREELE

Miles Copeland, R I P

THE NEWS of Miles Copeland's death reached us as Desert Shield turned into Desert Storm. In his day Copeland had been a major player in U.S. intelligence operations in the Middle East. A veteran of Wild Bill Donovan's wartime OSS, and a founding father of CIA, Miles Copeland was posted to Damascus in the late Forties when the former British and French protectorates in the Middle East and Africa were gaining their independence. He believed in working within a target country with whatever forces and interests could be used to further American objectives. He and his CIA sidekick, the late Archibald Roosevelt, are credited with engineering the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran, with tempering Nasser's hostility to the United States, and with facilitating the ouster of Nkrumah when the Oseyfago's sense of his own importance became intolerable. (Many of their other operations were so successful they never surfaced.) Within the Agency, Copeland opposed major paramilitary operations such as the Bay of Pigs because of the basic incompatibility of bigness and secrecy.

Miles Copeland entered the *NR* orbit when his book *The Game of Nations* attracted James Burnham's attention and admiration. He wrote a number of ground-breaking articles for *NR* in the Seventies when his beloved CIA and the intelligence community in general had come under devastating attack from the press and from Senator Frank Church's intelligence committee. In one glorious piece he took us for a briefing to "Mother's" (Jim Angleton's) comfortable paneled office at Langley, with its roaring wood fire, trophies on the walls, and window overlooking the Virginia countryside which was not a window at all. Assembled are the "top dirty-trick specialists" of the Firm (not one of whom, Copeland noted with glee, had Jack Anderson properly identified)—"Kingfish, Jojo, Dandelion, Lady Windemere, Wiz, and the 'Ozzard of Wiz.' " During the conversation Copeland asks whether the CIA hadn't been remiss in failing to have a plan to sabotage the Chilean economy in order to embarrass Allende. Jojo replies: "We couldn't improve on what Allende was doing without our help."

Miles Copeland was a great bear of a man, six foot two or three, blond, genial, loose-limbed, casually dressed, with a good-ole-boy Alabama drawl that fluency in Arabic and a half-dozen other languages, and nearly fifty years of living in London, had done nothing to erase. Born and brought up in Alabama, the son of a doctor, he never finished college. He played the trumpet in the Ray Noble and Glenn Miller bands, and did some arranging for them before World War II led him to his subsequent love, intelligence. He would sit across the table at Paone's, a glass of good red wine in hand, and recount wonderful tales. . . . Like the time John Foster Dulles and the boys were sitting around on a Saturday morning wondering how to explain to the press the Syrians' discovery of an exiled Syrian military officer being smuggled into the country in the trunk of the car of a CIA man with diplomatic cover. A number of suggestions had been made and dismissed, Miles told us, when a young aide cleared his throat, and, timidly his fear of his superiors showing in his voice, said: "Mr. Secretary, *why don't we just tell the truth?*" Miles leaned back in his chair, his eyes crinkling in anticipation: "The look of Machiavellian cunning that the suggestion brought to the Secretary's kindly old face," he said, "was an inspiration to us all."

Miles Copeland's last piece for *NR* was written during the 1988 campaign. He called it, with his usual flair, "Spooks for Bush," an impassioned plea for George Bush's election as the only man in the presidential field that year "with the wisdom, discretion, and ability to grasp the facts of our situation on the international gameboard." Pray God he was correct in this appraisal as he was in so much else in life.

Miles Copeland was a gentleman, a patriot, and an unorthodox operative—in some ways a perennial boy whose puckish humor tended to overshadow his deep seriousness of purpose and dedication to his country. He died in England on January 14, age 74, leaving his archaeologist wife of nearly fifty years, three sons active in the rock-music field, a film-producer daughter, and a host of friends now deprived of the pleasure of his company. —PLB

Hamilton Fish, R I P

HAMILTON FISH, age 102, is dead. At 86 he stopped speaking to me. He was mad. I had come out for the resignation of Richard Nixon and he made it clear to me that what I had suggested was unpatriotic, unconstitutional, cowardly, and unforgivable. Two or three times in the ensuing decades our paths crossed. He made it clear that I was still, and ever would be, in Coventry.

This was a minor disappointment to him in a lifetime crowded with disappointments. When I was a schoolboy of 15 I was the head of the America First Committee at my boarding school, and Hamilton Fish was the congressional representative of Dutchess County, which regularly sent him, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his neighbor, to Washington. Hamilton Fish was one-third of the anti-doxology of St. Franklin the New Dealer: "Martin, Barton, and Fish." In the late Thirties, Congressman Fish emerged as among the leading isolationists. In 1940 he accepted a challenge to debate with Lewis Mumford, the big-think sociologist who lived in the area, and the debate was held at the Amenia, New York, movie theater, with Mrs. Roosevelt seated in the second row. I had been introduced to him as a principal in the isolationist contingent at school, and he told me I would go a very long way. When a photographer showed up to snap a picture of the congressman and the teenage acolyte, Hamilton Fish, height six foot three, former all-American fullback from Harvard, hero in World War I, pushed me gently out of the way and moved into the camera's sight Hamilton Fish IV, also age 15.

I don't know when Congressman Fish stopped talking to H. Fish IV, whose sins, as a moderate Republican now occupying the congressional seat from which his father was removed in 1944, were legion by contrast with my craven sins against Richard Nixon. I cannot imagine what the atmosphere must have been if ever Mr. Fish consented to meet with his grandson, H. Fish V, who—God save his eternal soul—was publisher of *The Nation* magazine, which has a higher opinion of Alger Hiss than of Martin, Barton, or Fish.

His sense of humor was limited, as also his political intelligence. He was, just the same, a fine figure of a man, unambiguously the patriot; unambiguously, in an ambiguous age, unambiguous. He worshipped such as George Washington, and Marshal Lafayette, and strict construction, and isolationism, and those of his wives he did not divorce (a majority). It was easy to make sport of him, but he was a man of character, courage, and conviction, and there is much one wishes one could leach from Hamilton Fish to endow on modern statesmen. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Sorry to be so tardy responding to your letter of September 27 ["Notes & Asides," Dec. 3].

I read the transcripts closely. They show that you twice seriously considered the idea of tattooing AIDS victims, at the time overwhelmingly gay men. And even as you submit your clarification in the letter, you seem to regret giving up the idea. (You wonder how many have died because society has failed to develop a means of protecting the "unknowing," surely a curiosity rooted in the might-have-beens of the tattooing notion.)

The *Constitution* wrote that you had suggested tattooing for homosexual AIDS victims. On the evidence of your own letter, the distinction seems largely semantic, one without a difference—or, at least, without enough difference to warrant an apology.

Yours truly,
Tom Teepen
Editorial-Page Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Teepen:

You communicated to your readers that I was in favor of stigmatizing AIDS victims by use of the tattoo.

Your words were that Mr. Liebman's conservative friends are ". . . one of the prime sources of homophobia. Mr. Buckley, for example, once suggested that gay AIDS victims be tattooed on the buttocks . . . Mr. Buckley at times dips toward the manners of Buchenwald."

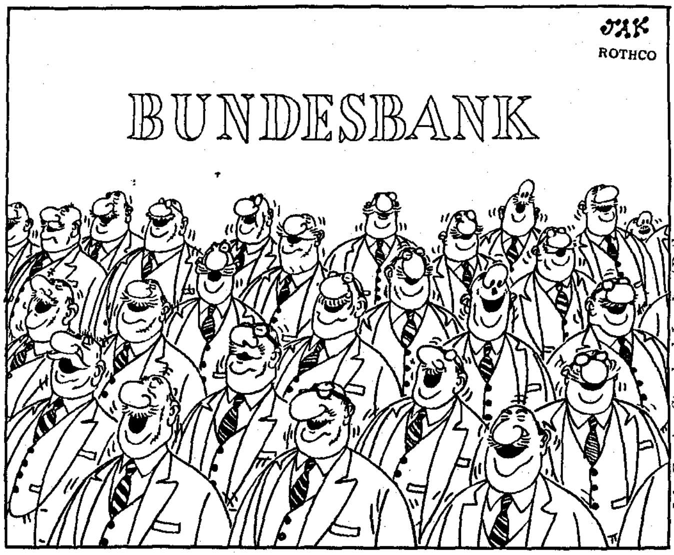
I was able to show you that I had said that society should seek out "some sign that would alert . . . somebody who was engaged in a practice in which it was likely that he would [see that sign]."

The question was put to me by Professor Dershowitz: "If . . . a rector of a church, or . . . a priest or a nun got the AIDS virus through blood transfusions, would you require that priest or nun or vicar or somebody who you would have no reason to believe would be a) immoral, b) dishonest—would you require them to carry that demarcation too? Or would you only limit it to people who had AIDS—"

To which I replied, "No no no. I would be impartial in the application of this law. I'd have a 12-year-old child do it if he had gotten the disease from his diseased mother. It seems to me the idea is to protect people." I then went on to suggest that a tattoo on the arm of a drug user with AIDS should be a part of the same package.

You began by suggesting that I was a) a prime source of homophobia. You documented this by saying that b) I once proposed to brand "gay AIDS victims" with a tattoo. Lest there be any confusion as to my motives, you advised your readers that c) "Mr. Buckley at times dips toward the manners of Buchenwald."

I established that my motives were to defend those who did not have the disease, and that my recommendation of the tattoo extended to non-homosexuals including drug users, and priests, and nuns, and children.



© Jak, *Evening Standard*, London / Rothco

"Deutschmark, Deutschmark, über alles!"

If you believe that the difference between what I said, and what you said I said, is purely semantic, then we do not speak the same language; and your cowardly and unrepentant abuse of language reminds us that even an editorial-page editor of an important newspaper is capable of dipping into the language of *1984*.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Does such a thing exist as an *Illustrated History of the Republican Party*? And if not, why not? I'm talking big-time trade publication here, with full-page glossies of Fremont, Sumner, Frederick Douglass, Lincoln, TR, Ike, and Dutch Reagan. If, by some inexcusable act of omission, no such ship has ever been launched, then there is something seriously amiss that begs redress. Perhaps you can help remedy the situation by setting one of your young whippersnapper interns to querying the National Committee for its thoughts on the subject. In our image-obsessed era, this kind of prideful print PR would seem to be a must. Besides which, school libraries would go nuts for such a book, with unknowable consequences for future growth in the membership rolls. It could make the difference between minority and majority status by 2001! Think about it. Spread the word. Evangelize!

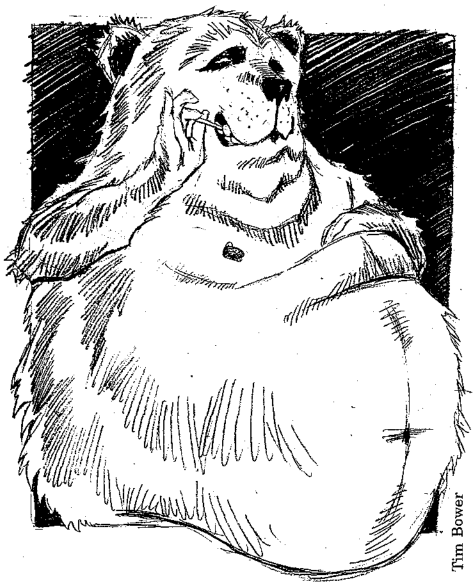
Yours half-jokingly,
Patrick A. Berzinski
Bloomfield, N.J.

Dear Mr. Berzinski: You're telling *us* to evangelize? The incumbent Republican Party is our child! Good luck with the book, selected parts of which we promise to read. Cordially, **—WFB**

ON THE SCENE

Holding the Empire Together

ELISABETH RUBINFIEN


Tim Bower

MOSCOW

AS WESTERN eyes watched the buildup and first blasts of war in the Gulf, Soviets focused on the horror of Moscow's crackdown in the Baltic republics.

Troops stormed Vilnius on January 11 and began beating aside Lithuanian resisters. The National Salvation Committee, a murky group that springs from the tiny pro-Moscow Communist Party in Lithuania, quickly proclaimed itself in control, as the government of President Vytautas Landsbergis waited anxiously for the army to cross the barricades at the Lithuanian parliament and forcibly throw out the democratically elected government.

When Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev finally spoke publicly about the attack, three days after it began, he complained that it had been necessary because Mr. Landsbergis was impossible to work with—meaning that there was no way to reach a compromise between Mr. Gorbachev's insistence that Lithuania remain part of the Union and Mr. Landsbergis's dreams of independence.

Many Soviet reformers have insisted for a long time that Westerners refuse to see the real Mr. Gorbachev. To some extent, this gap in perspective is inevitable—the undeniable breakthroughs Mr. Gorbachev brought with *glasnost* and in East–West relations mean more to Westerners than does the continuing economic disaster his country suffers from. But Mr. Gorbachev's reluctance to take a radical approach to economic reform is intertwined with his intolerance of republican secession: both have their roots in his consistent commitment to the preservation of the Soviet empire and its centralized government.

Mr. Gorbachev has made it clear since the beginning of the Baltic sovereignty struggle that he views independence as unacceptable. "In essence it all started in March . . . there was a nighttime constitutional coup d'état," Mr. Gorbachev told the Soviet parliament, in his first explanation of the Lithuanian crackdown. Standing on the steps of parliament during a break, decked out in fine wool coat and grey fur hat, he told reporters that Lithuania's March declaration of independence following the victory of anti-Communist forces in the elections was "anti-constitutional and illegal and should be abolished."

Lithuanians have consistently argued that the true crime occurred in 1940, when the Baltic republics were swallowed up by Moscow as its spoils from the Hitler–Stalin Pact. While the Gorbachev era has brought that ignoble moment into open discussion, the Kremlin has never acknowledged it as an imperial takeover. Instead, Moscow refers to Lithuania as an integral part of the Union and worries that if it were allowed to secede the door would be thrown open for others. Indeed, Lithuania's declaration of independence was followed briskly by similar decrees by Latvia and Estonia.

Moscow responded with a broad economic blockade, but Mr. Gorbachev was forced to back down by the surprise victory of Boris Yeltsin as the leader of a Russian republic seeking its own sovereignty and supporting the Baltic drive. That alliance helped enforce an uneasy truce between Vilnius and the Kremlin and brought about opening efforts at negotiations. But in December, Mr. Gorbachev coolly began issuing a series of presidential decrees intended to provide a logical basis for overthrowing a democratically elected government on the grounds of violations of Soviet law.

The Kremlin's hard-line policy carries dangerous consequences. First, it polarizes sovereignty-minded republics and the central government even further. Mr. Gorbachev's vision of national revival has been based on acceptance of a new Union Treaty that would keep the center in control while giving the republics more say on certain issues. At least seven of the nation's 15 republics, many of which have elected non-Communist governments, have refused to sign the treaty in its current form.

The crackdown on Lithuania and Mr. Gorbachev's wily denial of responsibility for it have led to utter disillusionment among important reformist Gorbachev allies. In an open letter to the weekly *Moscow News*, thirty Gorbachev advisors and democrats including such figures as Stanislav Shatalin, an author of the rejected five-hundred-day plan for radical economic reform, and Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, lambasted Mr. Gorbachev. "Economic reform is blocked, censorship of press and TV is reanimated, and outrageous demagogic phraseology was made to flood everything," they wrote. "Was there much left following the bloody Sunday in Vilnius of what we have often heard lately from the president about 'human socialism,' 'new thinking,' and 'Common European Home'? Almost nothing was left." The question of whether Mr. Gorbachev is directing this shift or being forced to go along, Soviet reformers argue, is both unanswerable and irrelevant. Either way, the result is the same.

Miss Rubinfien is a Moscow correspondent for the Wall Street Journal.

The crackdown itself was a depressing repetition of the well-known Stalinist formula: set up a "committee" that claims to be spontaneously acting for the "working class," create chaos through strikes and demonstrations, and explain that all of this legitimizes the entry of the Red Army. (Such committees are already prepared in Latvia and Estonia, and there are signs of similar moves even in Russia.) And, in another page from the same KGB playbook, do it when the eyes of the West are turned elsewhere.

Then control the press. One of the most demoralizing aspects of the crackdown has been the Orwellian description of events promoted by the official press. Many observers expected that the Kremlin wouldn't stand for Baltic independence, but even the most cynical had developed faith in the permanence of *glasnost*.

As Western journalists reported that military troops in tanks were riding over unarmed Lithuanian civilians, the official news agency TASS reported that the battle was an internal Lithuanian struggle for power that was upsetting residents and needed to be pacified. *Vremya*, the nationwide nightly news program, brought "experts just back from Vilnius" to describe how armed resisters fired first, and how the first person killed was a Soviet soldier shot in the back. A late-night independent news program was postponed for hours and later announced that the authorities were cutting its footage and strictly censoring its reports.

Unfortunately, official reports are the main news most Soviets receive. But the truth is reaching many in major cities through democratic newspapers and TV and radio programs not controlled by the center. Moreover, an informal but widespread information network had sprung up within hours. Vilnius residents send dispatches directly via fax to colleagues in Moscow and other cities, and the news passes by word of mouth. "We're getting reports every couple of hours so we know what's really going on with our friends in Vilnius," said an engineer at a major Moscow institute.

Mr. Gorbachev railed against such defiance in parliament, but the more effective (and ominous) response came in the form of a ten-minute investigative program by the highly popular Leningrad TV host Aleksandr Nevzorov, who had widely been seen as a maverick and possibly liberal critic of the government.

Mr. Nevzorov's program was, in the words of one American correspondent on the scene, "Goebbels ten times over." Shown on nationwide TV, it was a masterly compilation of heroic music, wide-angle shots of Spetznaz special forces hiding out in basement hutches supposedly under siege by Lithuanian resisters, and Mr. Nevzorov's own deep-voiced narrative in the machine-gun style of an old FBI television show: *9:13, enemies gathering just outside the door . . .*

All this may cause Westerners to worry that the next step will be retrenchment on partnership with the West. But Western aid, investment, and technology are essential to improving the Soviet economy. And if they come without real strings, they are in no way incompatible with Mr. Gorbachev's primary objectives: keeping the Union together and revitalizing the central economy. His selection of Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the former Soviet ambassador to the U.S., as the new foreign minister is one indication that he has no intention of turning back from the peace road.

Once the republics are silenced for the moment, Mr. Gorbachev's speeches are likely to sound as heartwarming as before, and it is important to continue to support whatever reforms he does undertake. But the battle between the center and the republics won't end with these weeks in the Baltics. It now should be clear that Democracy may come to the Soviet Union only through the nationalist struggle against the empire.

The West would serve itself well by developing direct economic and consultative ties with other republics that are already electing non-Communist governments and planning rapid economic reforms. It isn't that the leaders of such republics are obviously more attractive than Mr. Gorbachev the statesman—Mr. Yeltsin is widely seen as a demagogue at heart, and Georgia's president Zviad Sakhurdia calls for purification of the Georgian race and driving out all other peoples.

But such figures can be essential to propelling the country further, no matter what happens to them: if they are crushed by the Kremlin–military alliance, they will become martyrs of democracy who inspire future rebellions. If they survive, their own fate will be decided by their ability to pursue democracy once they are in charge and no longer just calling out opposition battle cries from the sidelines. ☐

The Keating Fizzle

JACK FOWLER

WASHINGTON, D.C.

As I write on January 15, the Capitol is withdrawn and uneasy, fearful of terrorism. In the hallways of the Capitol building, the routine banter and laughter are missing. And security has tightened: the Capitol police are now asking all visitors to remove their coats, which are frisked thoroughly.

But over in the Hart Senate Office Building's huge hearing room, it's business as usual: Day 25 of the ethics committee's investigation into the dealings between Charles Keating, chief executive of the now-defunct Lincoln Savings & Loan, and five senators: Democrats Alan Cranston (Calif.), Dennis DeConcini (Ariz.), John Glenn (Ohio), and Donald Riegle (Mich.), and Republican John McCain (Ariz.). Special Counsel Robert Bennett and lawyers for the Keating Five have begun their closing arguments; when they are done, the panel will determine if any of the five men violated Senate rules and, if so, will suggest appropriate punishments, ranging from reprimand to expulsion. The committee's verdicts are expected by early March.

The two-month hearings are widely viewed as a bust in terms of both theatrics and substance. Public interest had waned long before the Gulf war took center stage. The plodding hearings uncovered little new information about the five senators' activities.

In the mid 1980s Mr. Keating had engineered $1.3 million in campaign contributions to the five lawmakers.

Mr. Fowler is a reporter in NR's *Washington bureau.*

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING
VOTE for the WOMAN SUFF
1915
AMENDMENT IN NOVEMBER
USA
The Washington Post
FINAL
100,000 Flood W. Berlin to Test New Freedom
East Germans Create More Border Crossings
ALLIED CHECKPOINT CHARLIE
UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

Education makes it happen.

People with vision and commitment can accomplish great things.

So imagine what could happen if we joined together to make education our top priority.

It's time to achieve America's bold national goals for education . . . goals that will take all our children into the next century—and beyond.

Make It Happen, America. Invest in Education.

nea

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

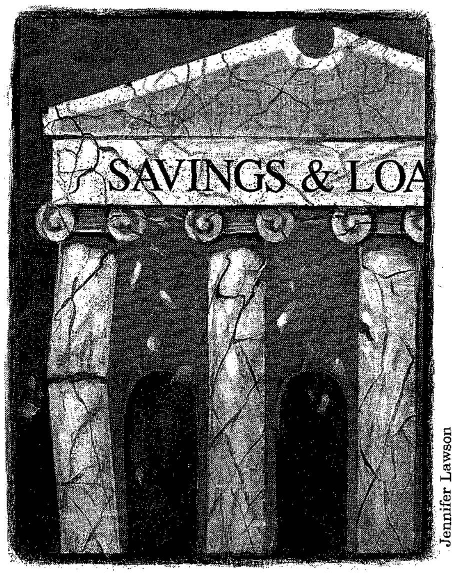
In return he expected the senators to lean on federal bank regulators to back off from their investigation into his shaky institution, which was crippled by poor junk-bond investments and real-estate speculation. The central event came in April 1987, when the senators met twice with Federal Home Loan Bank Board examiners, who charge that the senators pressured them to leave Lincoln alone. Sensing impropriety, Senators McCain and Glenn quickly withdrew (as Mr. Bennett recognized when he recommended last September that they be dropped from the probe). Senators Cranston, DeConcini, and Riegle, however, continued to press Mr. Keating's case. Eventually the government was forced to seize Lincoln anyway, at a bailout cost to taxpayers of $2 billion.

But all of that was known already. The only significant information to come out of the hearings was evidence contradicting Senator Riegle's denial that he arranged the April 1987 meetings. Mr. Bennett is advising the committee to charge him with perjury.

It may take months for the Senate to act on the committee's findings. But no matter what their colleagues decide, all the Keating senators—except Cranston, who is retiring—will be fat political targets when re-election time comes.

The two Keating senators with terms expiring in 1992 are the two most likely to be found not guilty, Glenn and McCain. Their exoneration, however, will not prevent tough re-election battles. Back home, both men carry negative ratings in the mid-50 per cent range, and numerous political foes are considering challenges. One interesting theory floating around town is that Glenn, should he believe his name has been cleared, may retire. However, more tarnish has recently obscured the former astronaut's once glistening image, as Ohio newspapers have disclosed that he set up a meeting between Mr. Keating and House Speaker Jim Wright in early 1988.

Although neither DeConcini nor Riegle faces re-election until 1994, their future is likewise bleak, particularly if they receive more than a senatorial wrist-slap. DeConcini will "get life but not the death penalty," says one pundit with close Democratic ties, who says Riegle will receive a lesser but still-harsh punishment. DeConcini, already suffering from negative poll ratings, has been hurt further by petty attempts to release information embarrassing to McCain. As for Riegle, who weathered a sex scandal during a tight 1976 Senate race, his negative ratings are not as high, but the perjury allegations and his poor performance at the hearings are bound to drive them up.



Jennifer Lawson

If it winds up with only Democrats officially trapped in a financial scandal, one would think that Republicans would attempt to make the Keating Three a 1992 campaign issue. Not necessarily. Despite the June 1989 resignations of Speaker Wright and Democratic Whip Tony Coelho over S&L-related activities, Republicans failed to mount any significant 1990 campaign effort to tar the Democrats with the corruption brush. "If Jim Wright didn't prompt a GOP attack, what will?" asks Charles Cook, editor of one of Washington's most respected political newsletters. Indeed, Cook believes the Keating scandal, even if only Democrats are found guilty, will affect the institution of Congress more than either party. "Something like this would probably hurt *all* incumbents."

Curt Anderson, coalition director at the National Republican Senatorial Committee, says he and others in the GOP "are eager for it to become the Keating Three affair," but admits to being "cynical about the party's ability to use such themes effectively." GOP campaigners charging fiscal hanky-panky by Democrats would almost certainly meet counterattacks involving the President's son, Neil Bush, and the Silverado S&L mess. And waiting in the ethics committee's batter's box is Alfonse D'Amato (R., N.Y.) who reportedly strong-armed HUD officials to steer grants and contracts toward his political allies.

So even if the Gulf war ends in short order and the American people are ready to turn their attention back home, don't look for this to turn out as anything but the Keating Fizzle. ☐

First Test for Democracy

SELDEN RODMAN

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI

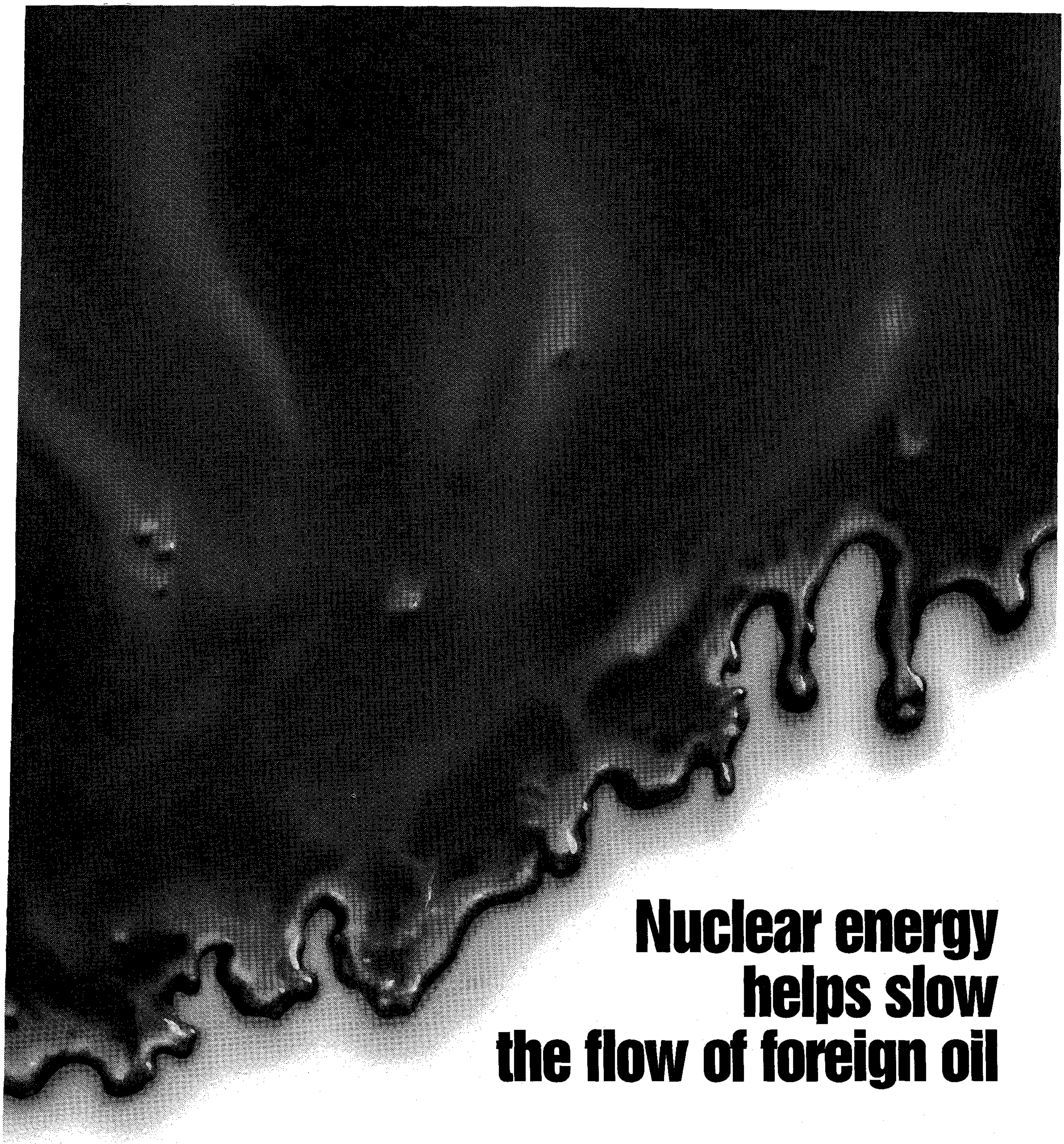
FATHER Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the 37-year-old priest who won an overwhelming victory in the free and fair presidential election of December 16, will, after all, be inaugurated on February 7, thanks to the army's unprecedented turning back of Gérard Lafontant's attempted coup on January 7. The armed forces, led by General Hérard Abraham, are playing a role unique in Haiti's violent history: defenders of democracy.

Perhaps the best way to look at the election of the fiery young apostle of liberation theology is to be thankful that "Titide's" margin of victory was so substantial it could hardly be disputed. The presence of 1,500 observers from the OAS, the UN, and other agencies, clearly identified by their blue-and-white uniforms at the polling places, made General Abraham's promise to avoid the horrifying election-day massacre of three years ago comparatively easy to fulfill.

The American government had backed Aristide's principal opponent, moderate Marc Bazin, so liberally and openly that Bazin—a former finance minister and World Bank official—could never recover from the obloquy of being tagged "the American candidate" and won a bare 12 per cent of the vote.

At a press conference at the posh

Mr. Rodman is the author of several standard books on Haiti, most recently Where Art Is Joy.



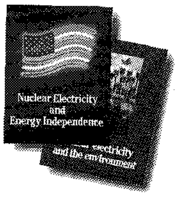
Nuclear energy helps slow the flow of foreign oil

Unrest in the Middle East has once again put America's national security and economy in danger.

We now import more than half of all the oil we use, much of it from the Middle East. But nuclear energy can help us reduce this excessive dependence on unstable sources. Our 112 nuclear electric plants already have cut foreign oil dependence by 4.3 billion barrels since the 1973 oil embargo, and continue to cut our oil imports by 740,000 barrels every day.

Nuclear energy is a clean and safe energy source that we can count on, one not endangered by turmoil in the Middle East.

For more information, write to
U.S. Council for
Energy Awareness,
P.O. Box 66080,
Dept. ME18,
Washington,
D.C. 20035.


Nuclear Electricity and Energy Independence
Electricity and the environment

U.S. COUNCIL FOR ENERGY AWARENESS

Nuclear energy means more energy independence.

©1990 USCEA

Katherine Trunk

Hotel Montana the day after the election, the faces of American officialdom were grim. Undersecretary of State Bernard Aronson, Ambassador Alvin Adams, and a former governor of South Dakota (whose claim to fame was that he had visited Haiti before) headed the American contingent of observers. They began by solemnly assuring the president-elect of their support. This conventional statement was in marked contrast to the joyous singing and dancing of Haitians celebrating their victory in the streets around the hotel. Inside, it was a wake, almost a death-watch. Questions such as why the Embassy had supported Bazin, and above all why Lafontant had been permitted to re-enter Haiti from Miami and thus provide leadership to the Tonton Macoutes, whose organization under Papa Doc Duvalier he had established, were blandly sidestepped. (Nor was the Embassy more forthcoming after the attempted *Putsch* three weeks later.)

Several months ago, I asked Aristide, who had already survived three attempts on his life, what he intended to do if and when he became president. "Haitians are slaves!" he told me, "Above all, we must not accept money from abroad . . . If Americans really want to help us, they will demand the immediate trials of Claude Raymond [army commander under Papa Doc], Clovis Desinor [Baby Doc's finance minister], and the remaining leaders of the Macoutes."

If he did not include Lafontant, the Macoutes' first chief, that was only because the subject of his return had not yet come up. When he did return, this past June, Provisional President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot did not even try to block his entry, as she had that of the moderate Duvalierist, former President Leslie Manigat. (Manigat slipped in anyway by getting the courts to rule in his favor, which they would hardly have dared do in the case of the hated Lafontant.) But once Lafontant was back in Haiti, and failed to get the Electoral Council's permission to run for the presidency, Aristide had the field pretty much to himself.

Aristide, in addition to his mass following in the capital's slums, was supported by most Haitian intellectuals, by those among the returning diaspora who applauded the young priest's promise of vengeance against the Duvalierists, who had ruined them, and by many of the Lebanese merchants who were now suffering from the new openness to contraband (including drugs) along Haiti's hundreds of miles of rugged, unpoliced coast. Père Aristide's fiery speeches over Radio Soleil, his incitements to rebellion from one end of mountainous Haiti to the other, and the alliances he had formed with dissident peasant communes as far away as northeastern Hinche and westernmost Jérémie give him far-flung support.

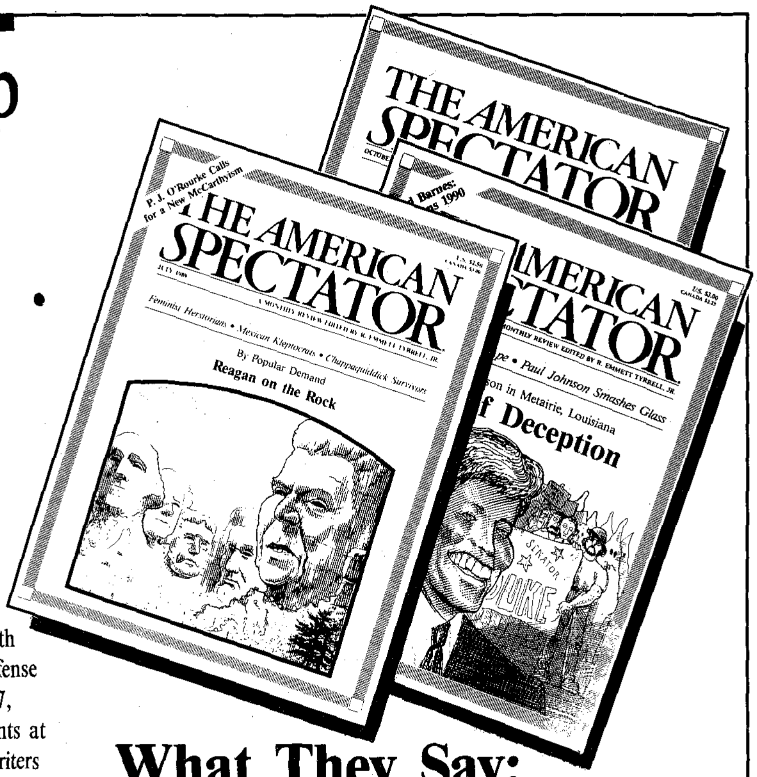
The election of a Marxist president of Haiti may make it difficult for the Bush Administration to hold to its avowed intention to support democracies abroad, especially among the volatile, poverty-stricken small nations of this hemisphere. Among them Haiti, with its teeming populations in Cité Soleil and La Saline living like beasts on refuse, is the worst. During the month before the election our Embassy had been obliged to kick in twice: once to remove mountains of health-threatening garbage blocking the streets, and again to help subsidize the import of enough oil to provide electricity for Haiti. There has been no road repair for years. And the dollar, still officially worth five *gourdes*, was bringing eight. "You support tiny Kuwait," an indignant Haitian intellectual said to me after the press conference at the Hotel Montana, "so why not Haiti with its eight million blacks on your very doorstep?"

Can fences be mended? Only if Père Aristide swallows his pride, his Marxism, and his anti-Americanism (understandably inflamed by our Embassy's support for the "bourgeois candidate," Bazin), and with rare Christian humility takes counsel from his tormentors (us). Where else can he go? Certainly not to Moscow, which is in the process of phasing out its million-dollar-a-day subsidy to Cuba.

And what will Père Aristide do at home? His only known program, thus far, is to impose a high tariff on all imports (like Dominican sugar and American rice) that compete with home-grown produce, and to "repatriate" funds that businessmen, taking his threats of expropriation seriously, have banked abroad—an impossibility. The president-elect certainly won't get much help from René Théodore, leader of the minuscule Communist Party, who criticized him during the campaign for being too radical. Nor will he get much support from the Church: he was thrown out of the Salesian order several years ago for his radical politics, and he will be automatically disowned by Rome as well once he takes office in defiance of ecclesiastical law.

Will the army support Aristide? During the election the army's conduct was impeccable—in marked contrast to its massacre of voters at the polling places on November 29, 1987. The problem is in the middle to high officer ranks, from lieutenants to generals; Duvalierists are still very strong in these ranks, and may be expected to stop at nothing to prevent the swearing in of a man who has threatened to annihilate them. If Lafontant's well-armed bullies attempt a second coup, more successful than the first, only an immediate airlift of Marines to Haiti could be counted on to checkmate them. But will the State Department, which facilitated the Macoute chieftain's re-entry last June, be expected to act decisively against him now (especially given the more pressing need for Marines elsewhere) and in support of a Marxist leader whose anti-Americanism is on record? □

How You Can Keep Informed On Important Issues . . . While Catering To Your Funny Bone's Needs



THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
P. J. O'Rourke Calls for a New McCarthyism
A MONTHLY REVIEW EDITED BY R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.
Feminist Hesitations • Mexican Kleptocrats • Chappaquiddick Survivors
By Popular Demand
Reagan on the Rock
Paul Johnson Smashes Glass
in Metairie, Louisiana
Deception
SENATOR DUKE

At the *American Spectator*, we still have fun providing you with keen political analysis, investigative journalism, and a thoughtful defense of the best of our cultural heritage. It's a trend dating back to 1967, when the magazine was founded as an anti-radical journal by students at Indiana University. The youthful exuberance and biting wit of its writers soon made the *American Spectator* a national publication, and we have strived to keep up the levity to this day.

The *American Spectator* publishes information ignored by today's mainstream media. Each monthly issue brings articles with viewpoints and analyses refreshingly at odds with the conventional wisdom, some tongue-in-cheek,some deadly serious. If you haven't subscribed to the *Spectator* recently, here's a sampling of what you've missed . . .

"A Call For a New McCarthyism"—P. J. O'Rourke's plea for an update of Sen. Joe McCarthy's "Enemies List" swelled into three separate articles, and it was our patriotic duty to publish the whole thing as a paperback book.

. . . "Ron on the Rock"—our proposal to add President Reagan to Mount Rushmore was resisted only by the Mount Rushmore Society and a few thousand journalists . . .

. . . Investigative reporting targeting such quacks as Ralph Nader, Alan Cranston, and David Duke; as well as spirited barbs fired at Jesse Jackson, Ted Turner, Albert Gore, Teddy Kennedy, Congress in general, and others who need to feel that the media light is not all lime.

Receive provocative articles on a monthly basis, along with book and film reviews . . . humor . . . Americana . . . foreign reporting . . . saloon reviews (you read that right) . . . all from such luminaries as Fred Barnes, Tom Bethell, Victor Gold, Brit Hume, Robert Novak, Joe Queenan, Benjamin J. Stein, and the *American Spectator*'s founder and editor, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

What They Say:

"Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the *American Spectator* surveying the scene."
—President George Bush

"Even those who dislike the conservative politics espoused by the *American Spectator* have to admit that the monthly can be awfully amusing." —*USA Today*

" . . . rapidly growing impact in Washington among the policy elite." —Hon. Jack Kemp

• • •

Now you may take advantage of this special no-risk trial offer for *National Review* readers—only $19.95 for ten monthly issues of the *American Spectator* (that's more than $10 off the newsstand price.) Send payment with your order and receive P. J. O'Rourke's new paperback book, **The New Enemies List**, FREE (a $4.95 value).

The New ENEMIES LIST
Compiled by readers of The American Spectator with notes and commentary by the Rev. P.J. O'Rourke
$4.95
FREE

YES! Please open my trial subscription to the *American Spectator* for just $19.95 for ten monthly issues today. A full refund is guaranteed if I am not satisfied with the first issue, and **The New Enemies List** is mine to keep.

☐ My check for $19.95 is enclosed, payable to the *American Spectator*. Please rush me my free book by P. J. O'Rourke.
(Add $4 for postage outside the U.S.)

Send to:
The American Spectator • P.O. Box 549 • Arlington, VA 22216-0549

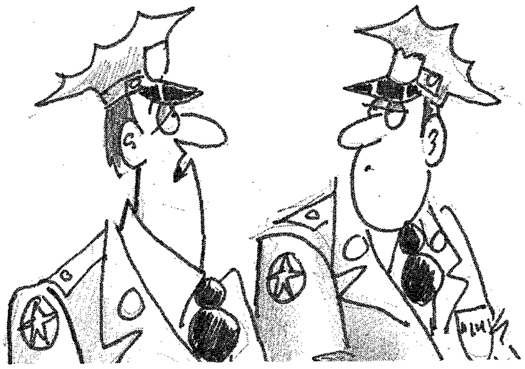
☐ Charge my: VISA ☐ VISA MasterCard ☐ MasterCard
Card #: ____
Expiration date: ____
Signature: ____

☐ Bill me later (Remember, **The New Enemies List** is yours **free** only with pre-payment by check or credit card.)

Name: ____
Address: ____
City: ____
State: ____ Zip: ____ LF90

Here Comes the Problem

HOW LAW DESTROYS ORDER



Mounting crime and disorder in America are caused by more than crack, overcrowding, and poverty. Changes in our criminal, civil, and constitutional jurisprudence are the causes—and the perpetrators are judges.

L. GORDON CROVITZ

THE PHRASE "law and order" implies cause and effect. The United States is now discovering the corollary, to wit: A legal system that fails to protect order signals flaws in the law itself. We now have a legal system that creates chaos and disdains order. As a result, criminals rule urban streets and absurdities in commercial law threaten U.S. competitiveness.

Any law-and-order movement today requires a focus both wide and deep. We must recapture the most fundamental idea in our jurisprudence—the rule of law. Our laws must be fair, based on common sense, and easily understood by the citizens who are expected to live under them; they must punish the guilty and protect the innocent; and they must be molded to the needs of society and not to any group's arbitrary standards. In particular, now that the results are in, it is time to end liberalism's social experimentation through the courts. An emerging intellectual conservative majority on the highest courts marks a change in direction, but whether it will mean a renewed conservative approach to the law remains to be seen.

I. Criminal Law: Tell the Truth or Lose the Streets

RECALL HOW police officers once enforced the law. If they saw a suspicious character hanging out on the street, they would routinely haul him in on vagrancy or loitering charges. These statutes were sometimes abused to harass minorities, but when properly used they had the virtue of permitting the police to prevent the street/park/schoolyard activity that facilitates drug dealing.

The law effectively surrendered to the criminals when courts forced cops and prosecutors to fight with one arm held behind their backs. The 1972 case of *Papachristou* v. *City of Jacksonville*, written by Justice William O. Douglas, is a perfect example. Several local toughs were arrested under a city ordinance against vagrants, defined as "rogues and vagabonds, . . . common drunkards, common night thieves, . . . persons wandering or strolling around from place to place without any lawful purpose or object . . ." One of the defendants had packets of heroin; others had long criminal records. The Justices reversed all the vagrancy convictions and invalidated these laws for hundreds of cities.

"The implicit presumption in these generalized vagrancy standards—that crime is nipped in the bud—is too extravagant to deserve extended treatment," Justice Douglas wrote, despite acknowledging that "of course, vagrancy statutes are useful to the police." Instead, he wrote an essay championing the alternative lifestyle now on exhibit in every urban area.

Justice Douglas cited a former governor of Puerto Rico to the effect that loafing "was a virtue in his commonwealth and that it should be encouraged." "Persons 'wandering or strolling' from place to place have been extolled by Walt Whitman and Vachel Lindsay," Justice Douglas wrote. "We know that sleepless people often walk at night, perhaps hopeful that sleep-inducing relaxation will result."

There was no evidence of the police arresting rambling poets or somnambulists. The Justices waved away evidence that from Elizabethan times such laws had been crucial to maintaining order. After years of living with the results, black community groups across the

---

Mr. Crovitz, a member of the New York bar, is assistant editorial-page editor of the Wall Street Journal, *where his weekly "Rule of Law" column appears.*

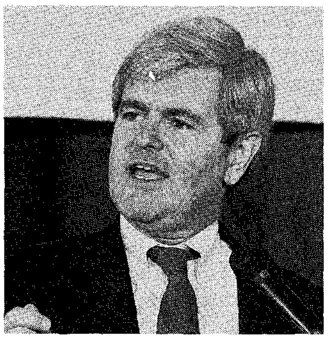
CPAC'91

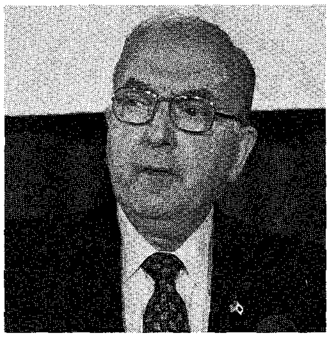
Where Do Conservatives Go From Here?

The 18th Annual Conservative Political Action Conference

February 7-9, 1991 ★ OMNI Shoreham Hotel ★ Washington, D.C.

Jeane Kirkpatrick


Newt Gingrich


Jesse Helms

Ronald Reagan

Conservatives are at a crossroads. With 1992 approaching and conservative strength down in the House and Senate, the time has come to reassess and debate the future political strategy of the movement.

That reassessment has begun and will dominate CPAC '91. Be there to be a part of the debate to determine the future of *your* movement!

Sponsored by the American Conservative Union, Young Americans for Freedom, *Human Events* and *National Review* in conjunction with more than 40 national conservative organizations, the '91 Convention is the "movement" event of the year. This will be the most important gathering of activists in a decade. It is a meeting you cannot afford to miss!

PAST SPEAKERS
(Partial listing)

★ President Reagan ★ Vice President Bush ★ Vice President Quayle ★ Hon. Elliott Abrams ★ Hon. Ken Adelman ★ Hon. William B. Allen ★ Dr. Martin Anderson ★ Hon. Lee Atwater ★ Fred Barnes ★ Hon. Gary L. Bauer ★ Hon. William J. Bennett ★ Charles R. Black ★ Doyce A. Boesch ★ Judge Robert H. Bork ★ Patrick J. Buchanan ★ Sen. Conrad Burns ★ Adolfo Calero ★ Hon. "Bo" Callaway ★ Hon. Richard B. Cheney ★ Rep. Jim Courter ★ Rep. Chris Cox ★ Rep. Phil Crane ★ Arnaud de Borchgrave ★ Hon. Donald J. Devine ★ Sen. Bob Dole ★ Sam Donaldson ★ Rep. Chuck Douglas ★ Hon. Pete du Pont ★ Rep. Mickey Edwards ★ M. Stanton Evans ★ Dr. Jerry Falwell ★ Dr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr. ★ Hon. David B. Funderburk ★ Rep. Newt Gingrich ★ Sen. Phil Gramm ★ Hon. Alexander M. Haig, Jr. ★ Sen. Jesse Helms ★ Dr. Alan L. Keyes ★ Rep. Henry Hyde ★ Hon. Jack Kemp ★ Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick ★ Beverly LaHaye ★ Hon. Paul Laxalt ★ Sen. Trent Lott ★ Sen. Connie Mack ★ Captain Red McDaniel ★ Hon. Edwin Meese, III ★ Hon. William A. Niskanen, Jr. ★ Bob Novak ★ Lt. Col. Oliver North ★ Hon. Richard Perle ★ Howard Phillips ★ Dr. Pat Robertson ★ Edward J. Rollins ★ Ron Robinson ★ Hon. Donald H. Rumsfeld ★ William A. Rusher ★ Jonas Savimbi ★ Phyllis Schlafly ★ Rep. Bill Schuette ★ Sen. Steve Symms ★ Lewis K. Uhler ★ Sen. Malcolm Wallop ★ Dr. Jack Wheeler ★ F. Clifton White ★ Robert L. Woodson ★

☑ Register Today!

CPAC '91
Registration

Send to: **CPAC '91**
919 Prince Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

(703) 739-2550
FAX (703) 548-7657
or Toll Free:
1-800-752-4391

Indicate Number

______ CPAC Registration Only (includes 3 meals & 2 receptions): $140 per person. $________ .

______ CPAC Registration & Presidential Banquet: $310 per person. $________ .

______ Presidential Banquet Only: $245 per person. Table of 10: $2400. $________ .

______ No meals Registration: $50 per person. $________ . Student Rate: $30 per person $________ .

(Please Print or Type)

Name: ________

(Name for Badge if different) ________

Address: ________

City: ________ State: ________ Zip: ________

Telephone: (Area Code) ________

☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard #________ Exp. Date: ________

Name on Credit Card ________ Total Charge $________

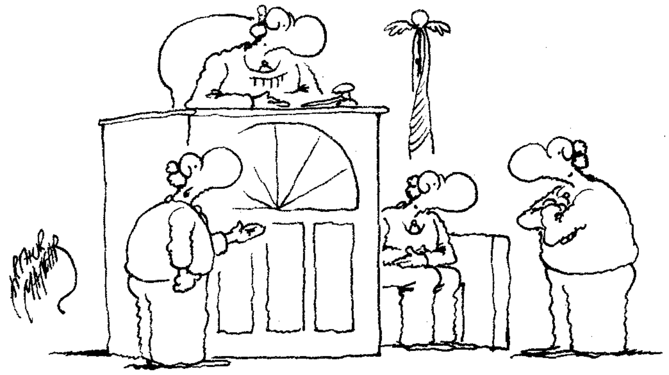
Total Enclosed $________

Make Checks Payable to **CPAC '91**

NR

country are now agitating for renewed vagrancy laws as the best hope for closing down open-air drug markets. But when local leaders got Alexandria, Virginia, to pass new prohibitions on loitering, the ACLU persuaded a federal judge to invalidate the law. Legal liberalism has been reduced to fighting community empowerment.

When the police arrest a suspect and he confesses, this is now the beginning, not the end, of the case. Volumes of exclusionary rules now suppress evidence of wrongdoing, from voluntary confessions to unambiguous evidence of weapons and drugs. Remember the Shia Amal militiamen U.S. forces lured into a trap and arrested a few years ago? A federal district court suppressed the confession by one of the militiamen that he had blown up an airliner on the grounds that the *Miranda* warning he got after he was arrested in the Mediterranean had three words misspelled in Arabic. (An appeals court later allowed the confessions.)



"Of course the defendant wasn't read his rights immediately, your Honor. He was captured by a police dog!"

Many years ago, Judge Cardozo wrote that it is absurd that "the criminal is to go free because the constable blundered." Yet even the new conservative majority on the Supreme Court seems intent on expanding the exclusionary rule. In a recent opinion by Justice Anthony Kennedy, the Court quashed a confession to two murders because the defendant's lawyer was not in the room when he confessed. What began as a way to ensure that the police do not coerce confessions has become a legal game in which defendants are protected from their voluntary confessions. One-third of the time that prosecutors fail to bring drug cases, it's because of exclusionary-rule problems.

One predictable result is that we have many fewer police officers on the street. Why bother paying for police who are destined to fail? New York lawyer Adam Walinsky has collected the data. Thirty years ago there were three police officers for every violent crime; now there are three violent crimes for every police officer. The ratio of violent crimes to police officers is an excellent measure of the crime of a city. The recent ratio for San Diego is 5.4; Boston, 6.1; Atlanta, 9.6; Oakland, 10.7; and East St. Louis, 26.7.

It may be only human nature that top law-enforcement officials have reacted to their failure to control violent crime by shifting their sights to crimes they can still investigate and prosecute. At the federal level, Attorney General Dick Thornburgh speaks of "crime in the suites," implying a moral relativism between white-collar crime and violent crime. At the same time that Mr. Thornburgh announced he would disband the long-standing Strike Forces on Organized Crime, he created new Task Forces on Securities and Commodities Fraud. The frustration at the inability to confront violent crime created what Tom Wolfe's *Bonfire of the Vanities* referred to as the search for the "Great White [Collar] Defendant." Michael Milken can be brought to his knees, using the RICO law, for "crimes" that are still mysterious, but muggers, rapists, and murderers are routinely set free.

People worry more about thugs than about shady accountants. A survey by *National Law Journal*/Lexis asked which crime should rank the highest for law enforcement; 47 per cent of the respondents said drug dealing, 32 per cent said muggings and rapes, 11 per cent said racketeering, 3 per cent said white-collar crimes. The same point was made in this hypothetical: An armed robber gets away with $5,000 from a bank. So does an embezzler. What sentences are appropriate? Streets *v.* suites was no contest: Nearly half would have put the armed robber away for more than ten years, while only 12 per cent thought the white-collar embezzler should serve more than ten years. While prosecutors of course must prosecute white-collar abuses, this is no substitute for fighting against violent crime.

II. Civil Law: Robin Hoods in Judicial Robes

ALTHOUGH the Supreme Court attracts much of the public attention on legal issues, it was activist judges in state courts who caused the liability explosion by rejecting centuries-old common law. There are signs that the counterrevolution in tort (personal injury) and contract law has begun, with far-left, redistributionist judges thrown out of office in California and in Texas. But we have a long way to go before we are back to the original purpose of tort law, which was to compensate victims while deterring wrongdoers by finding liability for reasonably foreseeable harm. Our tort system has instead become a method for searching out the deepest pocket remotely related to someone's injury and then assessing huge damages. Oliver Wendell Holmes in his 1881 classic, *The Common Law*, warned:

> The state might conceivably make itself a mutual insurance company against accidents, and distribute the burden of its citizens' mishaps among all its members. . . . [But] unless my act is of a nature to threaten others, unless under the circumstances a prudent man would have foreseen the possibility of harm, it is no more justifiable to make me indemnify my neighbor against the consequences, than to make me do the same thing if I had fallen upon him in a fit, or compel me to insure him against lightning.

Holmes would hardly believe his eyes if he read tort cases starting in the 1960s.

Peter Huber, in his *Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences*, and Yale Law professor George Priest have traced the development of the strange new ideology among academics, judges, and many lawyers. Their idea was to create ever-broader liability for defendants on the ground that even if the defendant didn't actually do anything wrong, he—or, since we're usually talking about corporations here, it—can always get insurance, and in the meantime any injured plaintiffs can be compensated.

The roots of the tort crisis are easy to trace. In 1960, the New Jersey Supreme Court effectively invalidated product-warranty exclusions, citing the "gross inequality of bargaining position occupied by the consumer" (*Henningsen* v. *Bloomfield Motors, Inc.*). In 1963, the California Supreme Court decided that courts must "ensure that the costs of injuries resulting from defective products are borne by the manufacturers that put such products on the market rather than the injured persons who are powerless to protect themselves" (*Greenman* v. *Yuba Power Products*).

This soak-the-rich mentality was often explicit. In an infamous 1983 case, the California Supreme Court approved a lawsuit by a plaintiff who was in a telephone booth hit by a judgment-proof drunk driver. The plaintiff was allowed to sue any and all companies involved

UNITED STATES v. SUPERMAN

"They are trying now to make Superman vulnerable to certain things . . ."
—Curtis Swan, Superman artist

DEFENDANT Superman testified for the prosecution in *United States* v. *Luthor (XVII)*. After Luthor's acquittal, Superman was indicted for perjury, convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. He appeals to this court.

1. Superman's counsel first argues that the verdict conflicts with precedent. In *Lang* v. *FBI*, an estranged girlfriend of Superman sued for copies of government files concerning his secret identity. We denied Superman's petition to intervene in the lawsuit because, in our view, Congress intended to allow FOIA interventions by earthlings only. See generally L. Lang, *Identity: The Man of Steel and the Mild-Mannered Reporter* (concluding that Superman is actually Billy Batson).

We find no such limitation in the perjury statute. Dozens of trial judges, reaching the same conclusion, have admitted Superman's testimony under penalties of perjury. See, e.g., *United States* v. *Brainiac* (admitting testimony but reversing conviction because Superman had failed to obtain a search warrant before using telescopic vision); *United States* v. *Bizarro Superman No. 1* (admitting testimony but reversing conviction because, though Superman had obtained search warrant, he then traveled backward in time and conducted search before warrant's issuance); *United States* v. *Luthor (XIV)* (admitting testimony but reversing conviction because Superman had carried defendant to stratosphere and threatened to drop him unless he revealed whereabouts of stolen nuclear warheads; in dictum, urging defendant to seek damages for intentional infliction of emotional distress); *United States* v. *Mxyltplk* (admitting testimony but reversing conviction because indictment misspelled defendant's name).

2. Counsel goes on to note that Superman and his friends have faced certain legal difficulties in the past few years. See, e.g., *White* v. *Superman* (Superman liable for negligently failing to use X-ray vision to detect acquaintance's tumor); *Daily Times* v. *Superman* (as quasi-state actor, Superman must provide services and information to all news media and not exclusively to *Daily Planet*); *Metropolis* v. *Superman* (under pit-bull ordinance, Superman ordered to dispose of Krypto). See also *United States* v. *Justice League of America* (under Civil Rights Act, private association ordered to offer membership to Incredible Hulk).

3. In the context of this history, counsel suggests, Superman may refuse to comply with an imprisonment order.

It is true that Superman has recently disobeyed several injunctions. See *ACLU* v. *Superman* (banishment to Phantom Zone constitutes cruel and unusual punishment; Superman ordered to bring Zod, Ursa, and Non to standard prison; his claim that prisoners would escape and enslave all earthlings dismissed as purely speculative; fine set at $1 million per day until compliance); *De Beers, Inc.* v. *Superman* (payment of fine with diamonds squeezed from coal constitutes unlawful competitive practice); *United States* v. *One Arctic Cave and Improvements* (forfeiture action) (pending).

The enforcement issue may, however, prove moot: Superman disappeared shortly after his perjury conviction. Perhaps he has fled the jurisdiction. It has even been suggested that he is no longer alive. See "Mere Coincidence?" *Newsweek* (Superman has not been seen since death of Roy Cohn). Despite the uncertainties, though, we cannot rest this or any criminal judgment on the likelihood of its enforceability.

4. Finally, Superman's counsel would have us accept a defense that the jury rejected. When Luthor's counsel asked Superman whether he had ever been married, he replied: "No." Counsel then produced documentary evidence showing that Superman had, in fact, briefly been married to one Lois Lane. Were we assessing the facts *de novo*, perhaps we would conclude that, as Superman insisted, the marriage had occurred only in a dream sequence. But the jurors believed otherwise, and we cannot say that their conclusion was groundless.

Conviction affirmed.

—STEPHEN BATES

Mr. Bates, author of If No News, Send Rumors: Anecdotes of American Journalism, *is an adjunct research associate at the American Enterprise Institute.*

in "the design, location, installation, and maintenance" of the booth. Chief Justice Rose Bird dismissed traditional notions of foreseeability, and she added: "Imposition of liability would not be unduly burdensome to defendants given the probable availability of insurance" (*Bigbee* v. *Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.*).

The result of such edicts is a long list of valuable products and services no longer available in U.S. market. Mr. Huber identifies a "tort tax" of $300 billion a year in misallocated resources, including defensive medicine and price premiums on products to pay for legal fees. Pregnant women, for example, can no longer purchase Bendectin, an anti-nausea drug, which its maker stopped selling because of the costs of litigation. There was no proof of any harm from Bendectin, but the small profits did not justify the millions of dollars in lawsuits. Judicial experimenting with ever-widening liability rules creates a regressive liability tax; the poor are least able to pay the 30 per cent increase in the cost of a stepladder caused by the liability explosion.

The tort crisis was made possible by the death of sanctity of contract, the legal concept by which our society embodied the moral concept of personal rights and correlating duties. Disputes over contracts were supposed to be the opposite of torts. Torts typically involve strangers involuntarily brought together by accidents such as auto collisions. The purpose of contracts is to allow parties to set out in advance the risks of their planned transactions. Thanks to judicial activism, however, it is nearly impossible to draft agreements judges will leave alone. The tort crisis could be solved if people could contract around litigation—for example, by waiving rights to sue for "pain and suffering" in exchange for lower automobile-insurance premiums—but courts would probably refuse to enforce any such agreement. Indeed, the overlap between contracts and torts is now so complete that at one leading law school it's possible to study "contorts" instead of the usual separate courses in contracts and torts.

The basis for the assumption that judges somehow know better how the parties should have allocated risks than did the parties themselves is lost in the mists of time, but we have an excellent paper trail of how contracts essentially became blank slates for judges.

Pacific Gas & Electric v. *G. W. Thomas Drayage & Rigging*, a 1968 case decided by the California Supreme Court, is a wonderful example. A contract included a standard, crystal-clear indemnification provision, but the judges decided that the parties should not be held to their written agreement because words have no meaning. (I'm not making this up.) Chief Justice Roger Traynor said the idea that parties could use words to negotiate binding agreements was "a remnant of a primitive faith in the inherent potency and inherent meaning of words." Words, he assured us, "do not have absolute and constant referents," and he cited anthropologists and semanticists for this proposition. He cited his sources in this footnote: "E.g., 'The elaborate system of taboo and verbal prohibitions in primitive groups; the ancient Egyptian myth of Khern, the apotheosis of the words, and of Thoth, the Scribe of Truth, the Giver of Words and Script, the Master of Incantations; the avoidance of the name of God in Brahmanism, Judaism, and Islam; totemistic and protective names in medieval Turkish and Finno-Ugrian languages; the misplaced verbal scruples of the Précieuses; the Swedish peasant custom of curing sick cattle smitten by witchcraft, by making them swallow a page torn out of the psalter and put in dough . . .' from Ullman, *The Principles of Semantics*." Which may explain why we tend to put lawyers, not Thoth experts, on the bench. Lawyers are supposed to take words seriously.

Chief Justice Traynor's ruling may seem absurd, but it remains good law in California. Alex Kozinski, a Reagan-appointed federal judge for the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, recently had to rely on the *Pacific Gas* case in deciding a contract dispute, because federal judges are bound by state law, no matter how crazy. "*Pacific Gas* casts a long shadow of uncertainty over all transactions negotiated and executed under the law of California," Judge Kozinski wrote. "Even when the transaction is very sizable, even if it involved only sophisticated parties, even if it was negotiated with the aid of counsel, even if it results in contract language that is devoid of ambiguity, costly and protracted litigation cannot be avoided if one party has a strong enough motive for challenging the contract."

In another case Judge Kozinski, who has been waging a one-judge insurgency to restore freedom of contract, described the principles lost when judges started to ignore contracts: "That people have the right, within the scope of what is lawful, to fix their legal relationship by private agreement; that the future is inherently unknowable and that individuals have different visions of what it may bring; . . . and that enforcement of these agreements will not be held hostage to delay, uncertainty, the cost of litigation, or the generosity of juries."

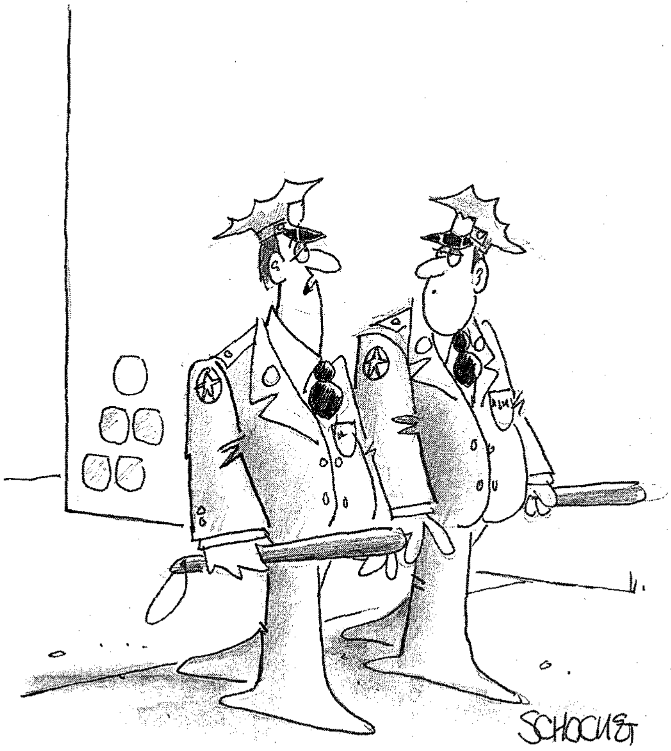
III. The Constitution: What Ever Happened to Ordered Liberty?

THE CONSTITUTION is the most conservative of documents, its chief function being to constitute a government of limited powers. The Founders created the twin controls of separation of powers to limit the individual powers of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches and federalism as the ultimate limit on the combined powers of the three branches of the Federal Government.

The breakdown of separation of powers is the root cause of many of our most intractable political problems. Attacks by Congress have weakened the President and paralyzed the government. The federal budget deficit, for example, grew out of control after Congress took advantage of a weakened Richard Nixon to pass the 1974 Budget and Impoundment Control Act. This took away the power used by Presidents since Jefferson to refuse to spend all the money appropriated by Congress, a power John F. Kennedy used to cut the budget by 6 per cent. The Supreme Court has never heard a case challenging the constitutionality of the 1974 Act, despite the fundamental principle that no branch of government can usurp the inherent constitutional powers of another branch.

The same breakdown has confused foreign policy. The Boland amendments, the most recent progeny of the War Powers Resolution, paralyzed President Reagan's final years in office and institutionalized the notion that Congress can criminalize its policy differences with the White House. Despite congressional acquiescence in President Bush's policy toward Iraq, the larger trend is congressional fetters on the branch of government that the Founders assumed would be energetic in defense of national security.

The Bill of Rights, meant to be the guarantor of ordered liberty, is now the source of the greatest disorder. Consider the divisive battle over abortion, which somehow became a question of constitutional law despite the utter absence of any discussion of trimesters anywhere in the document itself. *Roe* v. *Wade* flowed directly from *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, a test case on whether the Constitution says anything about a right to contraceptives. Justice Douglas acknowledged that the Constitution was silent on the issue, but discovered a privacy right based on "penumbras, formed by emanations" from the Bill of Rights. What a different legal world we might have if the Justices had left legislators to wrestle with public policy. Instead, we now have the related spectacle of hospitals suing to stop families from enforcing right-to-die living wills.



"Have you apprehended any alleged perpetrators lately?"

All that remains of federalism is that the Supreme Court has largely been silent as the state courts have unwound centuries of tort and contract law. This was perhaps best seen a few years ago when the Justices refused to hear an appeal of an $11-billion award against Texaco; the Texas judge, who usually handled matrimonial cases, admitted after the trial that he probably got the contract law wrong when he ruled for Pennzoil in the takeover battle over Getty.

Instead, the Court has used its limited docket in curious ways. The Justices have issued several rulings addressing the intellectually fascinating but essentially trivial issue of what kind of religious displays (if any) the government can support (or condone) on public (or private) property. The Court has said that a nativity scene on the front staircase of a county courthouse violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment, but that a menorah and Christmas tree outside a city–county building a few blocks away did not. Creches can pass constitutional muster if there is a quota of plastic Frosty-the-Snowmen to secularize the display. What any of this has to do with the First Amendment prohibition on the Federal Government establishing a religion remains hazy. Despite—because of?—so many court cases, mayors and county commissioners remain utterly confused about what they can and can't do each December. Whatever pleasure the Justices and their recent-law-school-graduate clerks get from counting the angels on the head of this pin of the Constitution, the benefit to the country is rather hard to see.

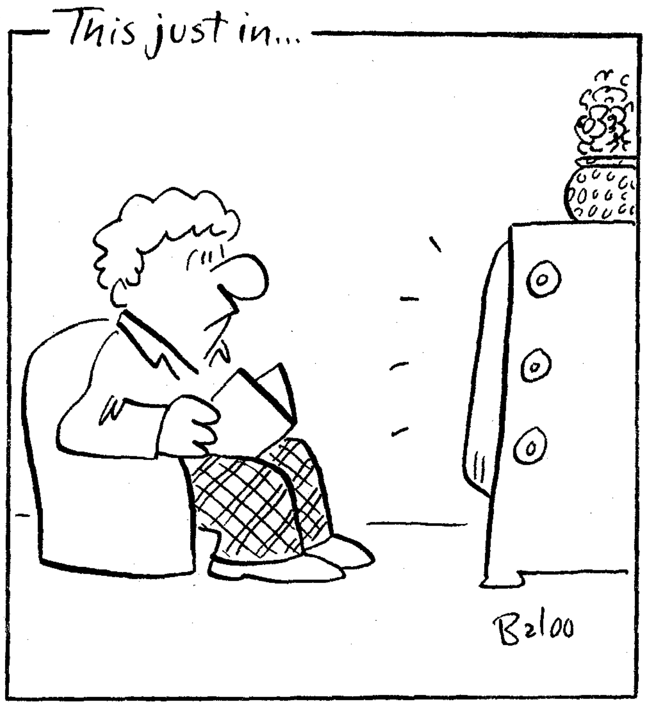
In contrast, the rights that once accounted for nearly all Supreme Court cases—rights involving commercial disputes—have nearly dropped from sight. Economic liberties are supposed to be protected by the Fifth Amendment prohibition on the government taking private property for a public purpose without paying compensation, and the Contracts Clause was supposed to prohibit state interference with contracts. Yet rent control, for example, somehow remains constitutional despite the obvious "taking" from the owner. The result of price controls on the housing supply is obvious in places such as New York City, yet courts have been loath to take the constitutional issues seriously.

American ingenuity has tried to cope with the collapse of the rule of law. Private security forces, from urban doormen to office guards, are thriving. Suburban housing developments advertise their close attention to safety. On the civil side, obstetricians avoid litigious Florida, and many waste-removal firms won't risk doing business in New Jersey.

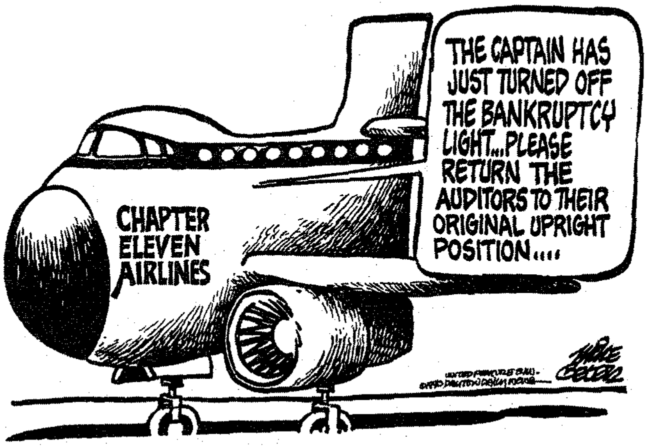
As always, though, those who can least afford alternatives suffer the most. A line comes to mind from G. K. Chesterton's critique of anarchism in *The Man Who Was Thursday*. The poor, he wrote, "have never been anarchists; they have more interest than anyone else in there being some decent government. The poor man really has a stake in the country. The rich man hasn't; he can go away to New Guinea in a yacht."

Today, the rich limit the anarchy of self-defeating and uncertain laws by privatizing security, but the poor and middle class have fewer options. This means—if any politicians or judges are listening—that there is an enormous constituency for law that once again protects order. ☐

help


This just in...
Bzloo

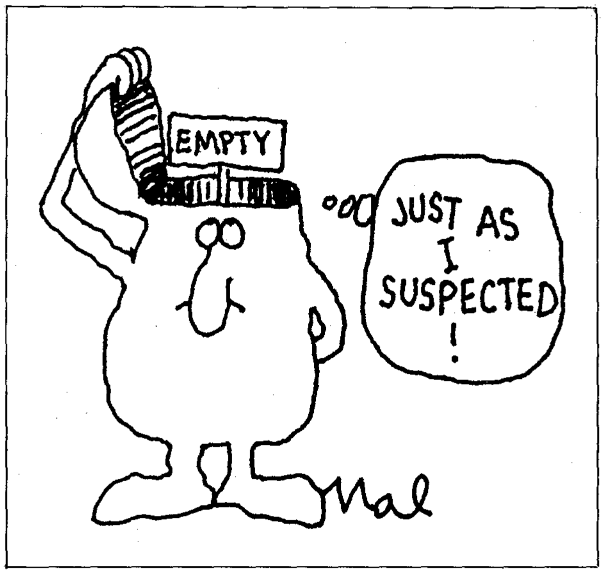
"And now a quick glance at the hour's top news stories . . . Yikes!"


CHAPTER ELEVEN AIRLINES
THE CAPTAIN HAS JUST TURNED OFF THE BANKRUPTCY LIGHT...PLEASE RETURN THE AUDITORS TO THEIR ORIGINAL UPRIGHT POSITION....

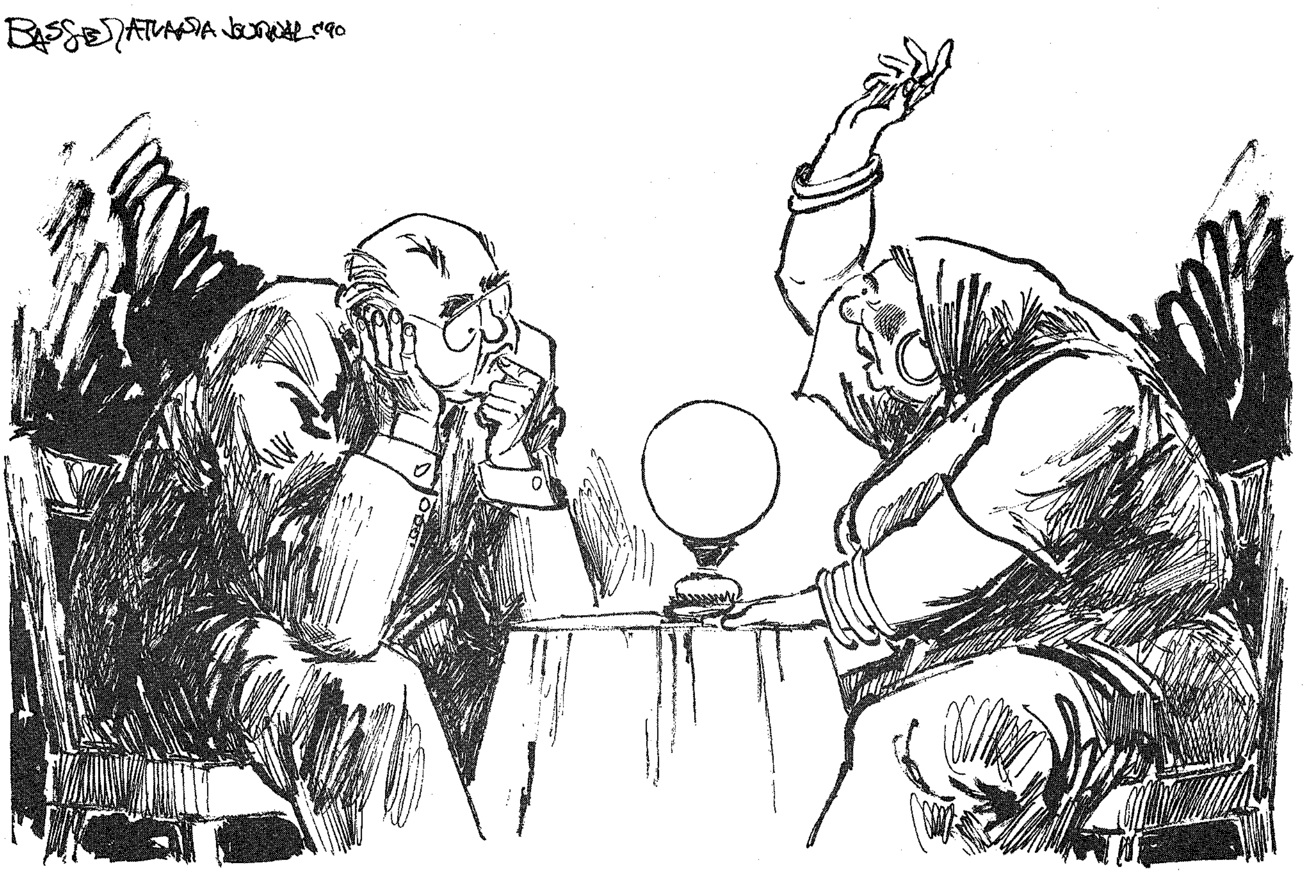
To a Spa Lady, Gasping

You poke us and you prod us and
You put us through our paces.
You try—how valiantly you try—
　To slim us.
But, oh, your exercises mostly
Rearrange our *faces*
Which stretch in all directions while
　We grimace.

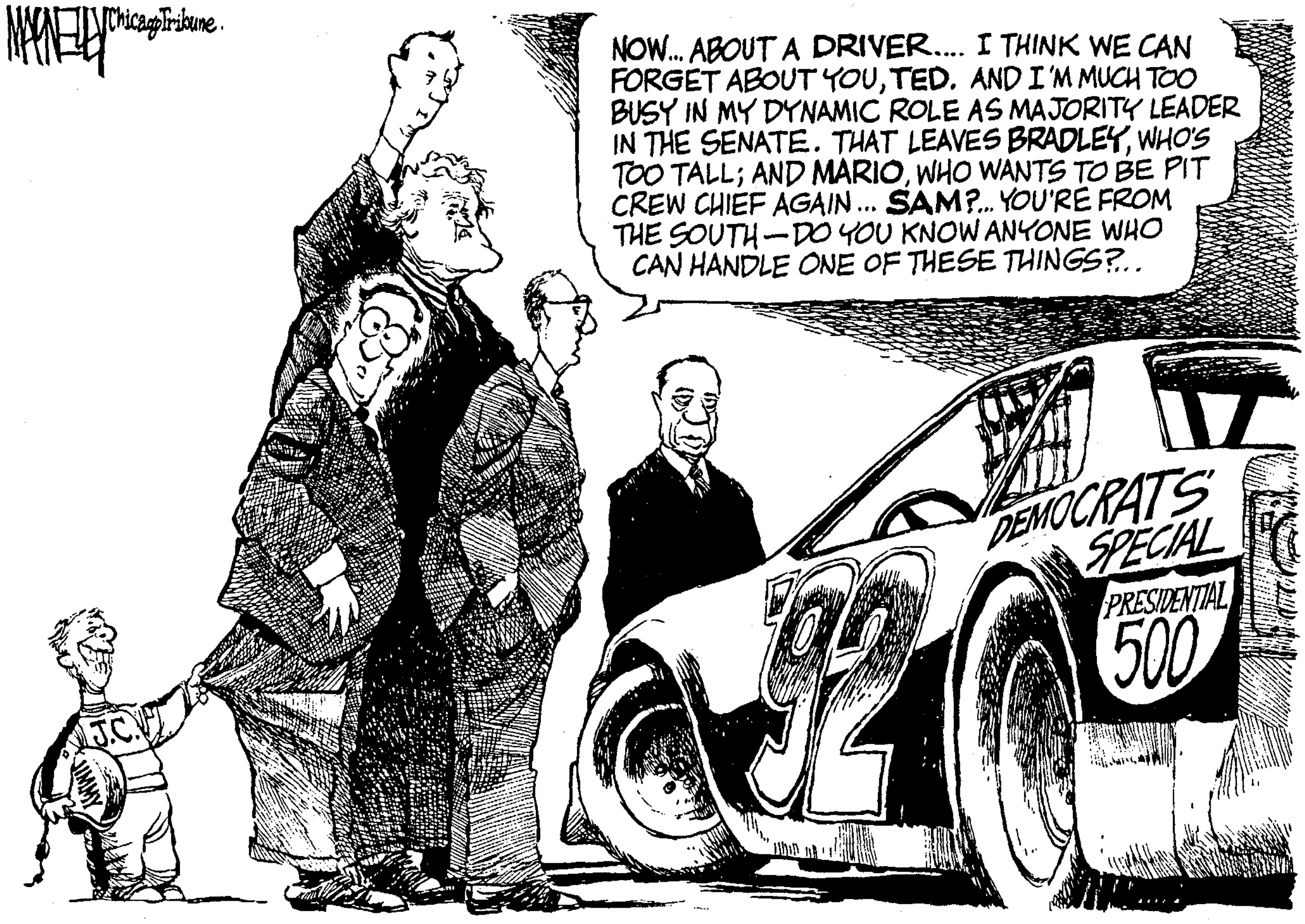
MAUREEN CANNON


EMPTY
JUST AS I SUSPECTED!
Mal

© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.


BASSET/ATLANTA JOURNAL ©90

"IS THERE ANY WAY, PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, YOU CAN AVOID 1991?"


MACNELLY Chicago Tribune.
NOW... ABOUT A DRIVER.... I THINK WE CAN FORGET ABOUT YOU, TED. AND I'M MUCH TOO BUSY IN MY DYNAMIC ROLE AS MAJORITY LEADER IN THE SENATE. THAT LEAVES BRADLEY, WHO'S TOO TALL; AND MARIO, WHO WANTS TO BE PIT CREW CHIEF AGAIN... SAM?... YOU'RE FROM THE SOUTH—DO YOU KNOW ANYONE WHO CAN HANDLE ONE OF THESE THINGS?..
J.C.
'92
DEMOCRATS' SPECIAL
PRESIDENTIAL 500

The Gulf War

AFTER THE DUST SETTLES

It is not too early to ask: After the war, what next? And the answer will depend on whether we've learned the real lesson of Vietnam: that wars must be fought in the political arena as well as on the battlefield.

ELIOT A. COHEN

WE ARE so used to thinking that Iraq must lose this war that we may forget that for Saddam, even a tactical loss could be a strategic win. If he should inflict heavy casualties on the United States (say, ten thousand or so) he might even offer to leave Kuwait unconditionally. Such a seeming defeat would, in fact, be victory. His stature in the Arab world would be enhanced enormously, for even Gamal Abdul Nasser never succeeded in fighting the West as an equal. The Arab world, so the Iraqi dictator believes, would be consumed with anti-Western rage, and ultimately the United States would be forced to make a deal that would leave him pre-eminent in the region. If even part of Saddam's dark fantasy comes true, the Middle East will be a turbulent and wretched part of the world for years to come.

The kind of settlement that will emerge from a Persian Gulf war depends on how that war is fought, what price it exacts from the combatants, and what kinds of ripple effects are felt in the Arab world. But it is none too soon to begin thinking about what the postwar world may look like, or rather how we should shape it to our purposes. In so doing we should remember that our victory must be defined not only in terms of battlefield success, but in terms of politics. Harry Summers tells the story of an American Army colonel talking with his North Vietnamese counterpart as the United States was withdrawing from Indochina. "You never beat us in a single battle," the American said. The Vietnamese reflected for a moment and said, "That is true, but irrelevant." It is entirely possible today, as it was in Vietnam, for the United States to win a pyrrhic victory. To avoid this, Saddam must be defeated not only thoroughly but relatively cheaply. No one in the Arab world should be allowed to delude himself that Saddam has managed to trade blows on an equal basis with the United States.

The Persian Gulf war will have three effects: it will determine the attitude of the United States to the Middle East; it will probably break not only Saddam Hussein but Iraqi society; and it will set the tone for inter-Arab politics. If the United States wins while holding our casualties to hundreds rather than thousands of men, the United States will consolidate its position as the world's only superpower. It may try to create a *pax Americana* in the region, either through a comprehensive peace settlement, or by playing a vigorous role as balancer and policeman.

Whether the United States *should* succumb to such a temptation is another matter altogether. Our record in such endeavors is dismal. The Administration has displayed remarkable toughness and tactical skill in standing up to the Iraqis, holding together the coalition, and launching the war. The same Administration, however, gave April Glaspie her talking points for her infamous July session with Saddam and was rescued from its handling of the domestic politics of the war only by the good sense of the American people and by sober congressional Democrats. A more prudent, and luckily a more probable, course would be for the United States to link its fortunes with a restored Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the smaller Gulf states, to reaffirm its alliance with Egypt, and to seek to create a moderate bloc of powers to contain Arab radicals.

It is also conceivable, however, that the United States will suffer heavy losses in this war, while achieving only ambiguous results. In that case it might simply decide that being a superpower is a bad business, and that the time has come to do without Middle Eastern oil. Such quasi-isolationism would find no friends in this Administration, but in such a case George Bush could well end up as a one-term President anyway.

Baghdad's Future

BARRING a swift decision by Saddam Hussein to cut and run from a losing war, the conflict will probably conclude with not only the destruction of the Iraqi armed forces, but the weakening of the Iraqi state for at least a decade. We need not worry overmuch that a chastened

---

Mr. Cohen is Professor of Strategic Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. He recently returned from the Middle East, where he met with senior Saudi, American, and Israeli officials and experts.

LOUISVILLE SLUGGER

presents

THE GENUINE LEATHER JACKET OF CHAMPIONS

LOUISVILLE SLUGGER
125
HILLERICH & BRADSBY CO.
LOUISVILLE SLUGGER

Louisville Slugger is a registered trademark of Hillerich & Bradsby Co., Louisville, KY.

The Golden Age of Baseball.

Long ago, on fields of real grass, larger-than-life heroes performed larger-than-life feats. On baseball diamonds across the land, great deeds transformed mere men into immortals. The Louisville Slugger® was there every step of the way. A legendary piece of lumber with which the greatest champions who ever played set records that stand to this day.

Official Louisville Slugger. Made in U.S.A.

Now, Louisville Slugger has authorized the genuine leather Golden Age of Baseball Jacket. Classically styled. Proudly made in the U.S.A. Crafted of genuine lambskin. Distressed, dyed blue, and "broken in" to give it an authentic, vintage look. Looks like baseball history come back to life! Features the authentic logos that actually appeared on the Louisville Slugger bats used by baseball's immortals.

Live the Legend for Just $47.75 Per Month!

The Official Louisville Slugger Golden Age of Baseball Jacket is priced at just $279* (plus $7.50 shipping/handling), payable in six monthly credit card installments of $47.75. Available in sizes S, M, L, XL. Order today and relive a piece of baseball's glorious history! Need help with sizing? Call us—we'll fit you over the phone!

Powerized
LOUISVILLE SLUGGER
125
HILLERICH & BRADSBY CO.
LOUISVILLE, KY.
TRADE MARK REG.

Normal delivery on phone orders 1 to 2 weeks.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 613-105

© 1990 MBI

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

WILLABEE & WARD
W&W

Satisfaction
Guaranteed

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 613-105

Please send me ________ Official Louisville Slugger Golden Age of Baseball Leather Jacket(s).

Size(s):	Small	Medium	Large	Extra Large
(Please circle)	(36-38)	(40-42)	(44-46)	(48-50)

For each jacket, charge 6 installments of $47.75* to my credit card.
☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card # ________ Exp. Date

Name ________
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Address ________

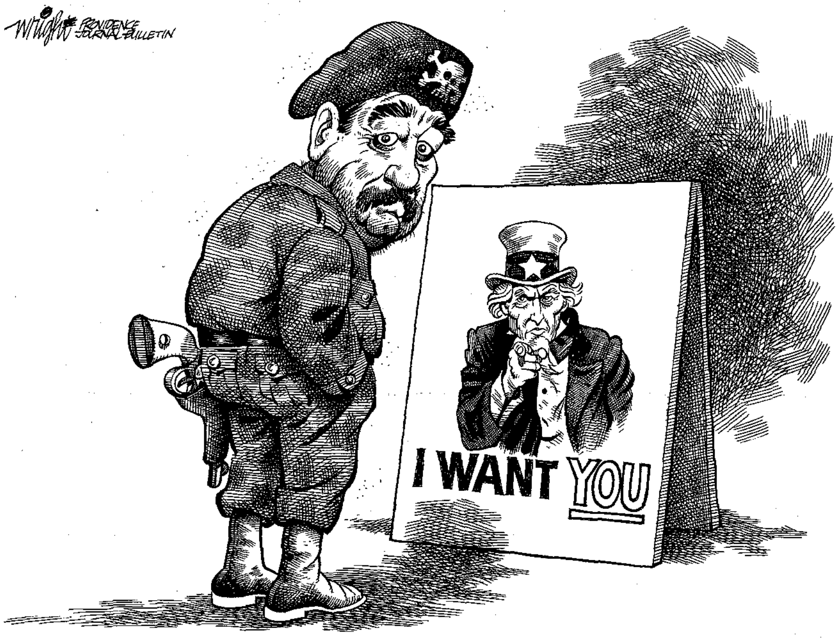
City/State/Zip ________

Signature ________
(All orders subject to acceptance)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $279 plus $7.50 shipping/handling, a total of $286.50 for each jacket.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

Saddam or his successor will be able to rebuild the Iraqi military—it will be hard to find suppliers for the major items he will need, including aircraft, tanks, and surface-to-surface missiles. His neighbors and possibly the United States might even put an end to such a venture by force, and it will be some time before Iraq will be able to recover economically from this conflict. More important than external pressure and economic frailty, however, will be what happens to Iraqi society. An uneasy composite of religious and ethnic minorities, Iraq suffers further from the legacy of Ba'athist rule. Like the most ruthless Marxist–Leninist regimes, the Ba'athists have smothered not only competing political organizations, but autonomous social groups as well. The result is an atomized and unstable society, aptly called by one Iraqi exile "the Republic of Fear." Should Saddam fall, and should it take some time for a plausible successor to emerge, the most likely result would be the Lebanonization of Iraq.



This will probably not lead to its partition. Some neighbors of that country, such as Jordan or Turkey, have no particular desire for such an outcome, and those that do may be deterred by the fear of American punishment or by a sense that if one Middle Eastern state can be carved up, so can others. But an enfeebled Iraq will lose for many years the status it has acquired in the last two decades. Other countries—Syria, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, most notably—will, as they did in Lebanon, search for clients and support favored factions, thereby making life there even less pleasant.

Inter-Arab politics will, if we are fortunate, begin to turn on a Cairo–Riyadh axis, forged in the current war. This relationship between the most self-assured and poorest of Arab states and the wealthiest is all to the good. Although Egypt had already been readmitted to the Arab fold before Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, the war will confirm that fact. This means that the only Arab country to make peace with Israel—and whose leader has now publicly affirmed Israel's right to defend itself—will receive toleration, support, and even deference from other Arab states.

The Persian Gulf war marks a watershed in inter-Arab politics. Saudi rulers (though only a minority of the Saudi business and intellectual elite) now speak more of Saudi national interest than of pan-Arabism. In a burst of self-assertion they have cut off subsidies to the Palestine Liberation Organization, terminated the special privileges of Yemeni workers (forcing an exodus of four hundred thousand or more), and stopped supplying Jordan with subsidized oil. In private they speak of a peace settlement with Israel once the Palestinian issue is resolved. Pan-Arab furor did not sweep the streets of Arab capitals during the first few days of the war, despite the warnings of some who may have been overly influenced by reporting from the troubled capital of Jordan. A sense of national interest may thus moderate Middle Eastern politics.

Yet, chaotic forces are bound to mar this generally cheerful picture. The introduction of American forces in large numbers to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has raised the fears of religious fanatics and the hopes of would-be Westernizers. The royal family has attempted to manage both groups by combining a grim public orthodoxy (banning women from driving, for instance) and remarkable private freedom. Unfortunately, Islamic fanaticism does not end at the borders of Saudi Arabia. It will take new life from the smashing of a secular foe. Ba'athism is a relic of the mid twentieth century; fundamentalism is its replacement. Among Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza, power has begun to flow to Hamas, the religious movement that orchestrates much of the *intifadah*, and away from the PLO. In Jordan, fundamentalists have taken some half-dozen seats in the Cabinet, and their strength is felt in North Africa. These groups believe they can gain power best through the ballot box; we may find the results of "democratization" in the Arab world more than a little disconcerting.

On Saddam's Coattails

THE Arab–Israeli dispute too will feel the effects of that war. Confirming Abba Eban's dictum that "the Palestinians never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity," they have thrown their lot in with Saddam Hussein, and will suffer thereby. Not only have their organizations lost financial support from the wealthy Arabs of the Gulf; they will be expelled from many countries and tightly controlled in others. Kuwaitis estimate that 5 or 10 per cent of the large Palestinian population in Kuwait collaborated with the Iraqis, and that it provided some of the high-level agents that enabled the invaders to seize and ravage that country so swiftly and efficiently. The Kuwaitis will not forget that. Nor, if there are terrorist attacks by Palestinians on American targets, will the U.S. be disposed to renew its dialogue with the PLO.

At the same time, two developments in Israel are recasting the Jewish state in permanent ways. The first is the amazing influx of Soviet Jews. Two hundred thousand arrived in 1990, and no fewer than one million are expected to arrive in 1991. This will be a tremendous financial burden, but it is, as many Israeli officials and citizens declare, the best thing to happen to the country since its founding. Nearly half a million well-educated workers will join the labor force, and if all goes well, this will not only increase the population of the country by 25 per cent, but lead to the expansion of the economy to the size of that of a small European state.

At the same time, Israeli politicians, including many leaders of the ruling right-wing Likud party, understand that something must be done about the Palestinian problem. Three years of the *intifadah* have led them to conclude that it can be contained but not suppressed. Conscious of the enormous financial costs of absorbing the Russian Jews and apprehensive about an arms race in which all countries will sell their latest hardware to anyone in the region, they will be willing to look to some kind of peace initiative, probably along the lines of the Camp David accords that brought peace with Egypt. If the Palestinians will accept half a loaf—some form of autonomy, with the door open for renegotiations in five or ten years—this blood feud may creep toward resolution.

This, then, is the Middle East we may expect if we fight this war wisely and well, and on the whole it is better than the one we knew. But the key to a happy outcome is strategic success, which is not the same thing as a quick and bloody win. Air power can win this war, or very nearly so, but may take months to do it. The choice is between a relatively cheap but long conflict fought in the air and a three- or four-week (if all goes well) blitz on the ground that inflicts thousands of casualties on the United States. The air strategy is the proper one. We should avoid American casualties first and foremost because the blood of our citizens is precious; but also because by doing so we will deprive Saddam Hussein of the grisly trophies that alone could let him claim a victory he cannot otherwise obtain. □

BEYOND THE N.E.A.

THE NEW AMERICAN ARTS ORDER

SAMUEL LIPMAN

A CLARION call for the redefinition of art by governmental fiat has just been issued by the American Assembly, an elite public-policy group headquartered at Columbia University. There may be those who might doubt that such a prestigious body as the American Assembly would get itself involved in proposing the redefinition of art, but it has, and here's the quote: "The statutory definition of the arts must be revised, if necessary, to embrace activities, forms, and expressions that may not be eligible for assistance according to current definitions."

This bit of cultural law-giving, intended for the guidance of government but rich in implications for the private sector as well, is contained in a pamphlet called *The Arts & Government: Questions for the Nineties*. The pamphlet summarizes the recommendations from a conference last November that was funded by the Rockefeller and the AT&T foundations, and attended by some 73 figures from the arts, arts institutions, government, foundations, and corporations.

Of these participants, it would appear that one person, and one person only—William Grampp, a free-market professor of economics emeritus at the University of Illinois—has a record of opposing the "politically correct" thinking that now rules the public discussion of cultural issues with an iron hand. The other 72 participants included such consenting luminaries of cultural-policy formation as John Brademas (president of New York University), Kinshasha Conwill (executive director of the Studio Museum in Harlem), John E. Frohnmayer (chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts), Roy M. Goodman (Republican New York state senator and member of the National Council on the Arts), Ruth Mayleas (program officer, Education and Culture Program, at the Ford Foundation), Kathleen M. Sullivan (professor at Harvard Law School), and Barbara L. Tsumagari (executive director of the Kitchen).

While the preparatory readings assembled to inspire the conference discussion will not see the light of day until this spring (in a volume to be published by W. W. Norton and subsidized, it may be assumed, by the funders of the conference), the Assembly's recommendations are contained in the pamphlet, and describe just where our distinguished cultural leaders wish to take us.

Accepting government funding—the more, the better—as a given, the pamphlet is both a summary and an endorsement of the now firmly established liberal line on culture and the arts. The Assembly begins by explicitly assuming the value of a flourishing artistic life, the need to rely on each culture's and each art form's own ideas of excellence, full freedom of expression without any governmental or private restrictions, and "the principle that no artist's work may be compromised, suppressed, or unrecognized because of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, or political or religious beliefs."

Among its recommendations for the NEA, the Assembly lists the support of "the full range of traditions and artistic forms that comprise this country's cultural vitality"; "greater access to the arts by new and under-served communities"; support for artists "of accomplishment and promise, whether working in traditional, non-traditional, experimental, or innovative forms"; a massive increase in the NEA budget; and NEA leadership in public and private research on and discussion of cultural policy.

The core of the Assembly's recommendations lies in the area of what it calls cultural diversity. Here the As-

---

Mr. Lipman is the publisher of The New Criterion *and the author, most recently, of* Arguing for Music, Arguing for Culture.

sembly urges that "Public arts agencies take the steps necessary to ensure recognition for every culture in our society." And to ensure that what is implemented at home will not be ignored abroad, the pamphlet recommends an international exchange program utilizing the "abundant cultural resources" of "African–Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian–Americans."

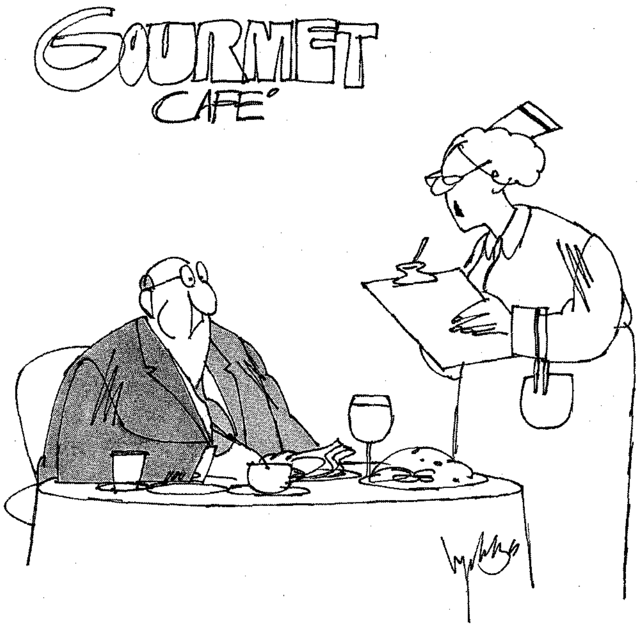
Curiously, the Assembly is quite guarded in its recommendations for changes in tax policy to aid the arts. Clearly it wished to avoid advocating tax changes that might help the arts for their own sake. Here as elsewhere, the Assembly's purpose is to advance a socio-political agenda: "More than other forms of aid . . . tax-based assistance may set the interests of the arts against those of a larger society." The Assembly's final recommendations are for increased arts education, again involving "people of color" and "less privileged communities," and always accepting that in arts education as in the arts themselves, government must accept work that is "at variance with community values."

One is tempted to remark that what is missing in the Assembly pamphlet is any consideration of art as such. But the pamphlet makes no pretense of talking about art: for the Assembly, the nature of art is a matter of how, and especially by whom, it is defined. As with art, so with the larger civilization of which art is a part. It is remarkable that the pamphlet never mentions Europe or the West, even in derogation. It cannot be denied that those responsible for the pamphlet just don't care one hoot about the content of art—as long as that content reflects and makes possible the transformation of society along what used to be called progressive lines.

The Assembly has a vision of a future America in which the majority is composed of today's minorities, and today's majority, humbled not just by inadequate numbers but by inferior moral virtue, is reduced to acquiescing in its own downfall. What in fact the American Assembly is recommending is a kind of neo-Marxist scenario, in which culture—or rather cultures—replaces economics as the engine of revolutionary social change. The new slogan is not "Power to the People," but rather something like "Power to the Cultures."

It remains to be explained just how the American Assembly, a group founded in 1950 by Dwight Eisenhower during his term as president of Columbia University, and with a board of trustees in the past including such national figures as George Ball and Cyrus Vance, and now including Sol Linowitz and Paul Volcker, finds itself in the position of being the vanguard agent of revolutionary social change. In the Assembly's odyssey from the establishment to the cultural revolution is illustrated the immense abdication from traditional leadership accomplished in recent years by the most powerful political, economic, and social elements in American society. It can all be quickly summed up. From being leaders, these elements have become the willing followers of social developments profoundly inimical to their own survival. And in return for their historic shift from leadership to complaisance, our erstwhile betters ask only one thing: that they be left in power to arrange their own disappearance. This surrender sounds crass, and it is crass. It is a moral sellout, a profiting in the present at heedless cost to the future.

This may explain just why the very definition of art is a matter of such perfect indifference to the pamphlet's authors. The inner core of civilization—not *our* civilization, but *theirs*—has ceased to exist. Starting in the 1960s from the cynical notion that hostile and destructive social forces could be neutered by the simple device of offering them representative places at the tables of the rich and powerful, the old and valetudinarian establishment has itself been vanquished by the primitive forces it had hoped to co-opt. These elites now enthusiastically believe what they have been saying for the past two decades: that the new world—*any* new world—is better than the old world—*any* old world; that primitive authenticity is more moral than learned sincerity; that youth, measured by its rawness, is always to be preferred to age; and that proletarian community is always to be preferred to bourgeois individualism. American Assembly indeed: perhaps it really ought to be called the American Disassembly. ☐



"I'm Catherine, the cholesterol meter-maid."

VIETNAM

THE FALL OF HANOI

PHAM HUY TY

THIS JUNE the Communist regime in Hanoi will convene its seventh Party Congress. This congress will also be its last.

Even before Tiananmen Square and the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, there were signs of the collapse of Communism in Vietnam. Like Cuba, Vietnam has been propped up by huge Soviet subsidies, and, as subsidies have not prevented Cuba from becoming the sick man of the Americas, so they have not prevented Vietnam from suffering a parallel fate. At this critical juncture in Vietnam's history the question is not whether Hanoi will fall. The question is whether American policy will push it over the edge or give it a new burst of life.

Because of its geographical location at the southern flank of China and in the center of Southeast Asia, Vietnam remains today, as it was during the war, the keystone of U.S. engagement in the region. Thus policy toward Vietnam needs to be considered within the whole strategic context, and not merely in bilateral terms. Indeed, so far from obscuring the American view of Vietnam, the Gulf crisis ought to heighten concern about the potential role of Vietnam in a future system of collective security.

The outside world is less aware of the crisis in Vietnam than it was of events in, say, Poland or Czechoslovakia. Politically, the sparks that will ultimately consume the regime were ignited in 1975, on the very day the Communist leaders assembled to celebrate the fall of Saigon. At that gathering the secretary of the Communist Party, the North's Le Duan, turned his back on Vietcong General Tran Van Tra of the South, demonstrating the persistent separatist mentality of the Communist leadership. Economically, the breakdown of Vietnam has followed the pattern for all Communist countries. In Vietnam's case, however, it was exacerbated by the North–South split, as well as by the curious decentralization of power among the 35 provinces. Inhabitants have to obtain permits to cross provincial borders and special authorization to transport merchandise. Even then it does not always arrive. Recently, for example, cement from the North intended for construction projects in the South was intercepted in the province of Thua Thieu in central Vietnam.

Fault Lines Opening

EVERYWHERE one turns the economy is in shambles. The Central Bank's reserves are down to only $20 million. There are regular energy shortages. On top of this, there is devastating unemployment; it is currently about 20 per cent and will soon go up: half a million members of the armed forces have been demobilized, and some two hundred thousand workers have been repatriated from Eastern Europe in the wake of the fall of Communism there.

It is hard realities like these that have led the government to launch a desperate campaign for foreign investment and, its precondition, the lifting of the U.S. trade embargo imposed after the fall of Saigon. To this effect Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach embarked on a trip abroad to plead for help. It started in New York, where he addressed the United Nations. "Our aim is to build a society for the people but our error lay in the fact that it was in practice a society of the state, by the state."

Only two months before Foreign Minister Thach delivered his *mea culpa*, however, Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh had convened a meeting of the highest-ranking officers of the armed forces, whom he urged to close ranks with the security units to put down opposition to the Party. A month before that, Interior Minister Mai Chi Tho had written in the *People's Army Daily* about the urgency of defending the Party against the growing democratic opposition. The contradiction between Thach's statement and those of Tho and Linh leads one to wonder whether the Politburo endorsed Thach's democratic utterances, or whether he simply exceeded his instructions in order to enhance his personal credentials abroad. In short, either the Communist Party is severely divided or it wears two faces: one for export, one for domestic consumption.

In the countryside, the local Communist cells are grumbling. Secretary General Linh is endeavoring to demolish the local Party fortresses established by Le Duc Tho and his brother Mai Chi Tho, the interior minister, by encouraging public denunciations of local Communist authorities while prohibiting any local criticism of central Party leaders. The resentments that have accordingly built up will be manifested in ferocious struggles at the June congress.

These breaches in the Communist regime are proving to be fertile soil for resistance movements. In any police state, of course, evidence of the strength of a resistance is fragmented and hard to come by. But it can be gauged to some extent by the intensity of the state's counterattacks. On July 11, 1990, the BBC reported arrests in Vietnam of 16,000 people since February. A month later, the Voice of America reported that "thousands of people have been arrested in a campaign of intimidation described by the foreign press as all-encompassing, covering the highest number of arrests since 1975." The International League for Human Rights later reported a higher figure, thirty thousand. The government's own sources reported last June that "from the beginning of the year 26,746 people were arrested," and a Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman said that these drastic measures were necessary to prevent a popular outburst on the anniversary of the fall of Saigon.

Scores to Settle

INDEED, so insecure has the regime become that it has formed new special units of the security forces wearing special blue uniforms. The new recruits are mostly natives of the Nghe An province, the same province where Ho Chi Minh was born. These people would be more dependable in the event that a bloody crackdown in the South (where rebellion is most likely) becomes necessary, just as Deng Xiaoping brought in troops from the outer provinces of China for the Tiananmen massacre. Vietnamese recall that in the eighteenth century a certain Lord Trinh brought troops from the same province into the capital to consolidate his power, a move that unleashed violence and misery in the country for the next ten years; in Vietnamese history it is known as the period of the "scourges of the arrogant soldiers." Only recently the Blue Uniforms were ordered to dislodge a group of malcontent veterans—after regular police and armed forces refused to respond—who had occupied a section of Tran Quoc Toan Boulevard in Saigon.

The army, so proud of its past service to the Communist cause, now has many scores to settle with the Party leadership—above all the disgrace of the retreat from Cambodia. The half-million soldiers who have been demobilized are living in sordid conditions in camps set up in different parts of the country. It would not be surprising

---

Mr. Pham was formerly a career ambassador and assistant minister of foreign affairs for the Republic of South Vietnam.

if they made common cause with other movements of resistance.

In May 1990 the leader of the Movement for Humanism in Vietnam, Nguyen Dan Que, made a public appeal for achieving democracy by nonviolent resistance. Drawing from the source of the traditional human values of Vietnam as opposed to the Communist theory—harmony versus contradiction in the society and justice versus class struggle—the Movement touches something deep in the conscience of our compatriots and probably could offer a common denominator for other resistance movements.

The centers of resistance include religious denominations, students, underground parties, and war veterans. The Buddhists, the Catholics, the Hoa Hao, and the Cao Dai are all inspired by the new religious tolerance in Eastern Europe. Resistance movements are demanding genuinely free elections under international supervision. The Communist regime definitely could not survive the free choice of the people who have been its victims for over forty years.

What Now?

THE POLITICAL turmoil and the economic crisis resulting from 16 years of socialist dogma are two sides of the same coin. The Communist leadership believes that alleviating the latter will defuse the former; hence its desperate attempt to persuade the U.S. to lift the embargo.

The delusive path now being advocated by some Americans is to lift the embargo immediately, in the belief that this economic opening would create pressure for change. But there is no point to a Trojan-horse policy when the ramparts of the citadel are already crumbling.

To lift the embargo at this point—after 16 years, when the government is being crushed under the weight of a thousand points of contradiction—would give the regime a shot of confidence that would in turn lead to more measures of repression and the specter of a Tiananmen-style massacre in Saigon. In that eventuality, the collapse of the Communist government would follow a scenario similar to that in Rumania a year ago, opening the

VIETNAMESE UNDERGROUND

THEY COME and go in every Soviet city, carrying suitcases full of black-market goods, which they sell at high prices to people desperate for scarce items—Palmolive soap, coffee, alcohol, toothpaste, denim jeans, cigarettes. They are another legacy of the Vietnam War: contract workers, sent to the Soviet Union to do manual work for low wages in partial payment of the Vietnamese government's $9-billion war debt.

Unquestionably, the importation of these contract workers was initially of great benefit to the Soviet Union. Able-bodied, hard-working Vietnamese did the work Soviet citizens were not willing to do—repetitive factory work, for instance, or cutting fir trees in the harsh climate of Siberia. And the Vietnamese agreed to the conditions of the contracts because they could see no other means to provide for themselves and their families. For some time, however, their activities have been doing increasing harm to the economies of both their host country and their native country—the former by siphoning goods off the market; the latter by creating the illusion that the Vietnamese economy has suffered less from socialism than is in fact the case.

The typical Vietnamese contract worker left spouse and children behind to work on a four- to eight-year contract that allows only one visit home. These workers cannot send money home, but they are permitted each year to send one huge crate (8′ × 8′ × 10′) containing whatever goods they can collect. Since this is the only way they can help their families, it is important to them to buy as much as they can. Thus they have become adept at working the black market. In Novosibirsk, a 48-hour train ride from Moscow, I saw contract workers, when not at work, manufacturing jeans in their dormitory rooms, which they sell to eager Soviet buyers in order to get the cash to buy other goods.

Some Soviets resent the Vietnamese for buying more than their fair share of the goods available in the stores. In fact, there have been many instances where Vietnamese have been beaten by angry Soviets, and some stores have refused to sell to them. Other Soviets are understanding, however; they know that the Vietnamese are paid even less than Soviet citizens are, and are taxed heavily by both countries, including the Soviet "social welfare" tax for benefits (such as pensions) that they will never receive.

The Vietnamese, some 90,000 strong in the Soviet Union, including 12,000 in Moscow and 10,000 in Leningrad, also buy large amounts of medicine to take back with them, since medicine is largely unavailable in Vietnam. However, they regard this as a matter of duty, not a black-market operation. If it costs them, say, a thousand rubles to buy a quantity of medicine (roughly ten months' salary, once taxes have been deducted), and another thousand to bribe the customs officer to let them in, they will sell it for an even thousand. They lose money, but help their fellow citizens.

Vietnamese were also sent to Eastern Europe to serve as contract laborers in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Many of these workers have now been repatriated, but not before they had begun to question their loyalty to Communism, a process accelerated by the democratization of their host countries.

With the opening up of the Soviet Union, more and more Vietnamese there too are beginning to think differently about what is best for their country; some will return to Vietnam with new ideas about how to run the economy and questions about the judgment of their masters. One man, a former air-force pilot who was taught to fly U.S. helicopters left in Vietnam after 1975, said he no longer believes in any form of government. He gave a thumbs-down to Communism, saying, "I only believe in money." —SHERRI L. STONE

Miss Stone is a congressional staffer in Washington, D.C.

country to a period of turmoil and bloodshed. The collapse of Communism in Vietnam is inevitable no matter what happens. But the emergence of a free and peaceful Vietnam is still by no means guaranteed.

Meanwhile, any delay in the democratization of Vietnam could drastically worsen the geopolitical situation in the region. The continuing hard political line taken by the Vietnamese Communists (one of the few governments to support the Tiananmen crackdown) has highlighted their ideological compatibility with the Chinese and North Korean Party leadership. Indeed, there are reports that on September 3 Secretary General Nguyen Van Linh met secretly with the Chinese secretary general in China, and press accounts from Seoul have Kim Il Sung also in attendance. As one commentator in the *Christian Science Monitor* put it, "Concerned by U.S. and Soviet reconciliation, China has pegged normalized relations with Vietnam to standing firm on its one-party system."

A Sino-Vietnamese alliance is not as unattainable as many experts think. Throughout Vietnamese history there have been unfortunate instances in which Vietnamese dynasties appealed for help from China, despite traditional animosities. The possibility of a more cohesive Communist bloc on the Pacific Rim—China, North Korea, and Vietnam—ought to be a real concern for all Western democratic (and trading) powers. It would be a nightmare for the rest of Southeast Asia.

The question of peace and security in Southeast Asia ought therefore to be examined within the framework of a future regional alliance that would include a liberated Vietnam. As the center of the region and what the French used to call *le balcon sur le Pacifique*, the Vietnamese people have a rightful place in the community of nations in the region, with whom they share a common apprehension of the Chinese expansionist tendency.

Yet the U.S. Government announced last month that it may start the process of normalization with Vietnam. In the 1973 Paris Agreement the Communists committed themselves to ensuring that "the South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam through genuine, free, and democratic general elections under international supervision." How sad it would be to find this prospect snatched away today, on the brink of its coming to pass, because of impatience.

Sixteen years after America was forced to evacuate its people from the rooftop of its Saigon Embassy by helicopter, the pendulum is finally swinging back in favor of the Vietnamese people. After a century of colonialism, civil war, and Communist oppression, there is peace, prosperity, and freedom on the Vietnamese horizon. Let us hope that the America so many of us have looked to for inspiration doesn't inadvertently postpone this joyous day through an untimely boost to a tottering regime. □

IN PRAISE OF MISANTHROPY

DON'T HAVE A NICE DAY

FLORENCE KING

MANY AMERICANS are unfamiliar with the word *misanthrope*, as I discovered when I tried to discourage a persistent Southern women's club that wanted me to serve as its guide on a literary tour of Europe.

"I can't, I'm a misanthrope."

"Oh, honey, you don't have to let it cramp your style! My sister-in-law's a diabetic and she can go anywhere she wants as long as she takes her little kit with her."

Like any personality trait, misanthropy is a matter of degree. Taken in the literal sense, the obvious problem is one of logistics: hating the entire human race is hard to do, though a few flinty souls have done it. In the figurative sense, however, misanthropy is a realistic attitude toward human nature that Americans would do well to understand and adopt.

We hold dual citizenship in the Republic of Nice and the Republic of Mean. Torn between smile buttons and happy talk on the one side and Balkanization on the other, we are going as crazy as Timon of Athens, the philanthropist-turned-misanthrope of whom Shakespeare said: "The middle of humanity thou never knewest, but the extremity of both ends."

As citizens of the Republic of Nice we are so afraid of our dark side that hostile situations barely get started before somebody pops up and announces, "The healing has begun." Fear of getting mad is so widespread that nobody says *mad* any more. The word is *angry*: somehow it sounds less mad than *mad*. To make sure nobody gets *angry*, we pre-soften each other constantly in ways that are becoming more and more bizarre.

Recently I sent away to a Danish import house for a table that arrived unassembled. I didn't have too much trouble putting it together—it was a five-goddammit job—but what got me worked up was the packing label: "*Warning! This box contains confusing instructions from Denmark. Please use our friendly instructions packed outside this box.*" *Friendly* has become a synonym for *clear* and *concise* because clarity and concision are cool qualities. It began with "user-friendly" computers to make cold technology warm, and now nearly every inanimate gizmo is touted as friendly.

In the Republic of Nice, the soft-spoken are king. Television anchors, who must somehow project an air of unthreatening authority, are lately solving this conundrum by swallowing the end of their sentences. Peter Jennings is the worst offender; his voice disappears into a prissy smirk and a little nod that recalls Colette Dowling's description of the speech patterns of unassertive women. In *The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of Independence*, Miss Dowling says that female executives afraid of losing their femininity turn orders into questions by raising their voices at the end of sentences, e.g.: "I want that report by tomorrow?" Miss Dowling calls this the "Diffident Declarative."

Miss King is finishing up a book on misanthropy called With Charity toward None.

The Republic of Nice has a Rumpelstiltsken Complex. Living in dread of exploding in foot-stamping, purple-faced rage like the foul-tempered gnome in the fairy tale, we have devised various safeguards.

Plugging up safety valves is our favorite way of keeping everybody calm. In her horrified appraisal of my last book, *Lump It or Leave It*, Martha Peters of the *El Paso Times* insists that "satire is only funny when it is neither embittered nor mean." That would be news to several people in the pantheon of Western civilization, but Walter B. Schwab of Providence puts Jonathan Swift and Anatole France in their place in his May 14, 1990, letter to *Time*: "Disparaging humor is verbal abuse and can be as damaging as the physical kind, if not more so. It destroys self-esteem."

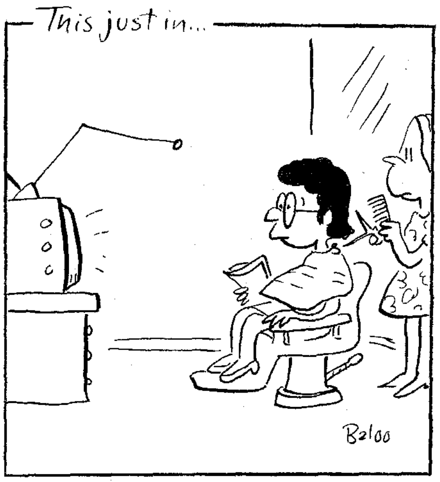
An obstetrics ward became a brooding ground for self-esteem when a couple sued a Nashville hospital for $4 million on learning that the nurses had nicknamed their baby daughter "Smurfette" because she was born blue from blue dye injected into her mother's womb during a prenatal test.

"Painful though these events have been, we have all learned a great deal about how sensitive and fragile our society is, how deeply people and groups can be hurt if great care is not taken in conducting public discourse." No, that has nothing to do with Smurfette. That's CBS president David Burke after suspending Andy Rooney for allegedly making cracks about people of another color, but it fits any self-esteem emergency. It also fits on a Miranda-sized card so that the five remaining spontaneous citizens of the Republic of Nice can carry it around in their wallets in case they slip up and say something interesting.

Code words are the pretty packages full of friendly instructions in which we wrap our real meanings. Some, like *inner city*, have been around for years, but the one that is all the rage lately is *dialogue*.

Not long ago a member of the Nation of Islam gave a speech at Fredericksburg's Mary Washington College. It was the usual Farrakhan farrago: up with Hitler, down with Jews and other whites, plus a locally tailored insult to George Washington's mother, for whom the college is named. The speech triggered such hysteria on campus that professors had to use class time for "tension-defusing" discussions of racial issues. Our local paper's letters-to-the-editor column divided along black–white lines and a town-gown split emerged, but how did the college administration describe it all? The banner headline read: MUSLIM SPEECH CREDITED FOR SPURRING DIALOGUE.

Another way the Republic of Nice puts the lid on its Rumpelstiltsken Complex is through "stress management," a phrase so suggestive of gritted teeth that you can almost hear the scrunch. The stress industry has cooperated by abandoning medicine's earlier claim that letting off steam is good for you, and so we have: TRUST HELPS HEARTS. BLOWING YOUR TOP COULD BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH, TWO STUDIES INDICATE.



"No actual fighting erupted today, but in several places, people got very *rude."*

One of these "wellness" studies took place at Duke University, the house that tobacco built, and involved 118 male lawyers who scored "hostile" on a personality test. The testees were described as "rude, abrasive, surly, critical, uncooperative, condescending, and disagreeable"—the law firm of choice for litigious Americans. Among the researchers was Dr. Redford B. Williams Jr., author of *The Trusting Heart*, who warns: "Having anger is bad for you, whether you express it or not. But we found that people who said they made a point of letting other people know they were angry had higher death rates."

The best way to bottle up anger is to turn men into women. After years of consensus seeking, reaching out, coming together, building bridges, linking arms, and tying yellow ribbons, the feminization of America is now complete. American men have been turned into their own secret police, under orders to kick down their own doors in the middle of the night and arrest themselves for "insensitivity."

A beau ideal of the New Man is columnist Richard Cohen, the *Washington Post*'s resident oh-dear, who is such a bundle of sensitivity that if he had been on the *Titanic* he would have apologized for damage to the iceberg. Male soul-searching is in and Cohen is its undisputed champ, having searched his own so often that he has become Butterfly Dundee, the man every woman would least like to have with her if she met a mugger.

Today's men have adopted the age-old feminine stratagem of hurt feelings and the newer feminist technique of politicized nagging to get their points across, as when a snippy Dan Rather demanded of his man in Alaska: "Did Hazelwood ever apologize for the *Valdez* oil spill?" But nothing is more infuriating than female strategy. Armed with her silken weaponry of ambivalence, circularity, and freighted silences, woman burrows into her adversary's very soul—sideways, like a tick crossed with a mole crossed with a crab. Instead of "humanizing" men, it would have been far better if women had copied men's stoic *virtus*. A nation of self-controlled people is less likely to blow than one giving off beta-consciousness waves. The hatreds we are trying to tamp down and deny have a much better chance of coming to the surface when people are "in touch with their feelings." If they do, they will be all the more violent from having been subjected to the feminized tactics of the Republic of Nice.

Republic of Mean

THE FLIP SIDE of the Republic of Nice is the Republic of Mean. Closet misanthropes lie thick on the ground.

How about some proportional misanthropy? "Beef! Real food for *real* people." George Bush in Omaha: "It's good to be away from Washington and out here with the *real* people." Rosalynn Carter's press secretary: "She's in touch with the *real* people." Take your pick and hate the rest.

Egged on by the compassion-impaired, some of the handicapped have turned into ogres hurling epithets at anyone who says "confined" to a wheelchair, or who does *not* say "differently abled." Somerset Maugham anticipated these closet misanthropes when he wrote: "It is not true that suffering ennobles the character; happiness does that sometimes, but suffering, for the most part, makes men petty and vindictive."

Our eagerness to get away from each other has made the ubiquitous "Ten Most Livable Cities" article beloved by closet misanthropes. People are desperate to escape crime, pollution, noise, rudeness, and traffic jams—i.e., people. Once they move somewhere new to get away from people, they find that they are hated by people who hate people who are trying to get away from people they hate.

The Welcome Wagon is dead. I see the handwriting on the mall, and it's a bumper sticker: Seattle: DON'T CALIFORNICATE THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. Oregon: COME SEE US BUT GO BACK HOME. Atlanta: GENERAL SHERMAN, WHERE ARE YOU NOW THAT WE NEED YOU?

Equality of Bigotry

RAINBOW misanthropy? It's a mystery to me how anyone can look at the proliferation of support groups and not see them for what they really are: a lunatic quest for birds of a feather by people so sick of our great diversity that they unconsciously reject it by joining Tone-Deaf Parents of Lefthanded Anorexic Kleptomaniacs just to be with their own kind.

A leading rainbow misanthrope is Sonny Carson, the black convicted kidnapper who worked in the campaign of New York Mayor David "Gorgeous Mosaic" Dinkins. Accused of being anti-Semitic, Carson replied: "Anti-Semitic? I'm anti-white. Don't limit my anti-ing to just being one little group of people." Spoken like a true misanthrope.

A movement toward equality of bigotry is leading to misanthropy by accretion. Karen Schwartz of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) said of the Andy Rooney flap: "GLAAD opposes all forms of bigotry and believes that if you scratch a homophobe you'll probably find a racist." By this logic, the scratched racist, if scratched repeatedly, will prove to be anti-Semitic, will prove to be anti-Catholic, will prove to be anti-Slavic, and so on down the list until we achieve raw misanthropy—literally.

The widespread hatred of television is a form of closet misanthropy of special interest to anyone who grew up in the radio era. We didn't hate radio and blame it for all sorts of ills. We didn't worry about how many hours a day our radios were on, and we didn't lie about our radio habits ("I never listen to it").

Today we have Judy Mann in the *Washington Post* on "Turning Off the TV Habit," about her family's cold-turkey withdrawal from the electronic beast.

"I don't miss it at all," she insists in the third paragraph. It's a one-sentence paragraph, standing alone for greater dramatic emphasis.

She goes on to say, "you realize how stupid the sitcoms are," "It is a terrible time-waster," and "Television is a lot like smoking: you only realize what a rotten habit it is once you've stopped." She also quotes her husband—"He thinks it destroys the mind"—and a Washington-area English teacher: "If TV is like a drug that numbs the mind, excessive viewing amounts to drug abuse."

Television rouses us to instinctive loathing because it is the only medium of entertainment in which the great do not keep their distance. In the Thirties and Forties, radio was a disembodied voice, while movies presented godlike stars who were figuratively larger than life and made them literally larger than life on giant screens. But the democratic size of the television screen and its permanent presence in our homes have deprived us of personages awesome and mysterious, damaging thereby the psychic dynamo that powers religious faith. In the primitive recesses of our minds, television is to us what Antichrists and heretics were to the Middle Ages.

The most revolting form of closet misanthropy is the "Oprah's Guest" syndrome. Masquerading as compassionate broad-mindedness but really driven by the notion that dignity is undemocratic, it demands that people strip themselves of all that is seemly and wallow in maudlin sludge.

MARYLAND COUPLE SHARES A GIFT OF LOVE: HER KIDNEY. After the area's first spousal transplant, the couple "crept together through the hospital corridors, both slightly bent with pain," while their teenage children "hung out with them, looking after mom and dad and making home videos of them."

When they left the hospital to go home, the husband wore a T-shirt inscribed: "My wife gave me her heart and all her love. Now she gave me a kidney." He went on: "I was so glad. I had my catheter and my bag of what we call liquid gold. I said, 'Timmie, look at this,' indicating that the new kidney was working."

Added the *Washington Post* reporter: "The Warners are the kind of people who view obstacles as challenges—the glass half full, not half empty, as Kenneth Warner put it. And they are 'goal-oriented' people, he said. Warner decided he wanted a transplant kidney, and he set Christmas as his personal deadline."

But who would donate it? Said Mrs. Warner: "We woke up on a Saturday morning and I said, 'Why can't I give you a kidney?' " And so she did. And left the hospital wearing a T-shirt inscribed: "I gave my husband my heart and all my love. Now I gave him a kidney."

Everybody's Friend

MY COFFEE CUP is half empty. While I pour myself a refill, look at this:

It's a Christmas postcard from Congressperson Patricia Schroeder, who evidently culled my name from the *Ms.* subscription list. The picture shows the whole family, including the dog, frolicking in the snow. The message reads: "Santa's back! So are Jim, Pat, Scott, Jamie & Wolfie Schroeder! Jamie is a sophomore at Princeton studying Chinese. Scott works at ABC News in D.C. Jim works at paying bills and Pat works at passing them! Wolfie sleeps! Best Holiday Wishes for a great 1990. Pat & the gang." Of course, Pat contains a smiley face in the circle of the P.

It is not necessary to like people to respect them. The Schroeders among us miss a vital point that we of cooler temperaments instinctively understand: Familiarity doesn't breed contempt, it *is* contempt.

The suspicion that David Souter might share this view—might, in fact, be a misanthropic hermit—sent America into a tailspin when the fifty-year-old bachelor was nominated to the Supreme Court.

"Judge Souter is our Rorschach test," wrote *Washington Times* columnist Suzanne Fields, "telling us more about ourselves than about him." He certainly did. The vaunted independence that Americans cherish consists of two things: the single-issue pressure group and the automobile. We boast about our rugged individualism, yet when an avatar of it draws near to a position of power, we go nuts.

Women's groups demanded reassurance that Souter would "empathize" with women's issues. Presumably they meant "sympathize," though with feminists you never know. Alan Dershowitz seemed to hint at something really nasty: "I mean, this is a fifty-year-old bachelor who lives with sheep in Weare, N.H., out of this world."

Time called him "An Eighteenth-Century Man," forgetting that the Founding Fathers were too, and warned: "The more serious question about Souter's ascetic ways is whether a man who seems to prefer books to people can empathize [there it is again] with and understand the problems of ordinary people."

Finally, somebody dredged up a Souter date from the early Sixties, Ellanor Stengel Fink, who did her best to reassure the land of the free and the home of the brave.

"What doesn't come across in the accounts I've read is what a warm, friendly guy he can be," she rhapsodized. "He comes across as a steely intellectual. All head and no heart. He is a very bright person and very interesting, but he's not all brain. He's a friendly, warm person and extremely considerate." Not only that, his parents were "very warm, friendly lovely people. A traditional, close family."

I daresay many people fully expected Souter's isolated cellar to yield up a dozen or so female corpses murdered by him over the years. And why not? Every newspaper reader in America knows what murderers are like: SLAYING SUSPECT DESCRIBED AS LONER. According to the suspect's neighbors, he always "kept himself to himself" and "had trouble at work." But the victim? Listen to his neighbors: "Everybody loved him, he got along with everybody. He didn't have an enemy in the world. He was such a happy person. I remember he always said a stranger is a friend you haven't met yet. He would give you the shirt off his back. One day a homeless came to the door and asked him for a drink of water, and he invited him in for a meal. He was always smiling, I never saw him frown, no, not once. Our kids were crazy about him."

To suggest that this hot, wet paragon might have had a fatal flaw, and that it might have had something to

(Continues on page 61)

CLERIHEWS GALORE

AS EARLIER with limericks, the editors were humbled by the number and quality of submissions to our somewhat delayed clerihew competition. One entrant alone, Robert P. Wenson, submitted 63 clerihews—all technically correct and witty. His subjects included Xenophon, Rousseau, and Evelyn Waugh, but we selected this oblique shaft for an honorable mention:

Reverend Jesse Jackson
Secretly snacks on
Bagels, lox, knishes,
And gefilte fishes.

This cornucopia of entries overwhelmed even the fertile Bill Rickenbacker. But Mr. Rickenbacker struck back by submitting an entry in Latin which I publish in the hope that I will not have to sue *NR* for libel:

De Ioanne O'Sullivano
Nihil nisi bonum cano.
Necesse! Quidquid mali loquor
Vertit in bonum editor.

Some entrants sent in entertaining technical reflections on the clerihew form, illustrated by classic examples. Alas for Mr. J. Kellum Smith, his own fine submissions on topical subjects were overshadowed by this superb classic:

Bizet
Used to pick up girls on the
Champs-Elysées,
But Gounod—
Well, you know.

An honorable mention is especially due to John F. Cassil, who suggested the competition in the first place. Of Mr. Cassil's several crisp entries, this is our favorite:

George Herbert Walker Bush
Landed on his tush.
When he reneged on "no new taxes,"
The Dems got out their axes.

Honorable mentions also go to Miles David Moore, Albert H. Bienstock and Walker Cain (both of whom also submitted cartoons), Joseph C. Taylor, and Arlene N. Heath, the wit of whose clerihew has, alas, been overwhelmed by events:

Comrade Gorby
Once ruled urbi et orbi.
But now the Red Army marches
Beneath the McGolden Arches.

That brings us to the winners. Given the generally high standard of entries, we have once again decided to increase the number of prizes. The winner will still receive a bottle of bubbly (the real thing, naturally), but two runners-up will each receive a bottle of still wine.

Third place and a decent hock go to Joyce La Mers for this light obituary:

Donald Trump
Is in an economic slump.
What he built in Atlantic City
Is now run by a committee.

Second spot, rewarded by a good claret, is occupied by Geoffrey Paul Eaton with:

These days Descartes
Is thought less wise than Sartre,
But if with one I had eternity to
share,
With René, fine; with Jean-Paul,
l'Enfer!

From philosophy to literature for the winner, Maia Wise of Washington state, who wins a bottle of Bollinger and our congratulations with:

Remember Salman Rushdie?
Though he wouldn't be hushed, he
Has chosen astutely
To defy the imams mutely.

And a merry Lent to all our readers.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

No Great Mystery

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

PRESIDENT REAGAN is not, as he tells us, an introspective man. There is nothing confessional about this autobiography, no early traumas revealed, no great agonies of soul flaunted. That is not to say that Mr. Reagan conceals the disappointments and defeats inseparable from every life. On the contrary. In the early passages covering his childhood and education, he is candid about his family's poverty (which compelled them to move house several times), his father's business failures and alcoholism, his disappointment in early love, and his difficulties in sports and at school.

He was able to tolerate the economic ups-and-downs partly because he was too young to understand their significance, and partly because the traditional values and good neighborliness of small towns in the Midwest supplied him with a different kind of stability. He quickly learned to pick himself up, brush himself off, and start all over again.

He shows the same knack here, notably when he sums up his marriage to, and divorce from, Jane Wyman in a single gentlemanly paragraph. In that case, perhaps, he had little alternative. But he shows a tendency, where other people's feelings are concerned, to gloss over unpleasantness in a way which does him credit as a Christian but detracts somewhat from his value as a historian.

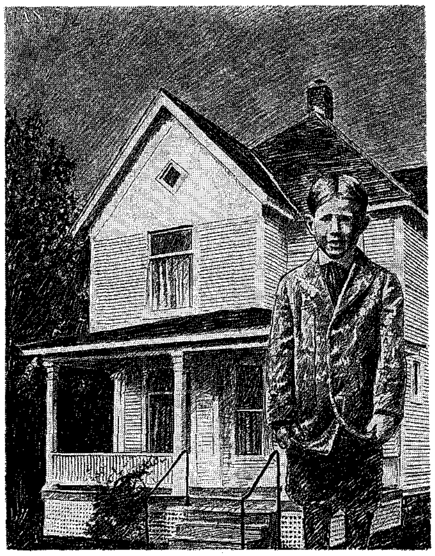
An American Life, by Ronald Reagan (Simon & Schuster, 718 pp., $24.95)

There is more to this than Mr. Reagan's congenital decency and optimism, however. In a rare introspective moment, he reveals himself to be a surprisingly private man who has difficulty in making really close friends. Several passages about his wife Nancy portray her as someone who, in effect, protects his interests against his own easygoingness toward other people. He confesses to an inability, damaging for a professional politician, to remember people's names. Even his raconteurship can be seen as a protective device against the unwelcome intimacy of Hollywood fans and political supporters.

We can guess at the causes of this remoteness: his frequent changes of home and school as a child, his nearsightedness (not discovered until he was 12), his partial deafness. But the result seems clear. Genial in public, amiable toward casual acquaintances, Mr. Reagan is detached and reserved in private. He keeps all but a few close friends at a distance.

Liberal reviewers, having solved this first mystery of Mr. Reagan's personality, think that they have solved the second mystery of his popularity. They paint a picture of a Holy Fool revered by a simple populace. Detached from economic collapse, remote from the worsening condition of the poor, ignorant of international realities, Mr. Reagan could preach the most harmful doctrines with perfect sincerity. And being an actor, he could communicate these beliefs to the American people despite the surrounding evidence of economic collapse and military excess. Here, for instance, is Garry Wills in *The New York Review of Books*:

> The cartoon character Mr. Magoo, blind and optimistic, loudly describes the happy things going on around him while the viewer sees him surrounded by perils, destruction, and violence. . . .
>
> Reagan creates the reality he is voicing, Magoo-like, no matter what untoward events are occurring all around him. . . . he is convinced that his businessmen brought on prosperity, a restoration of trust in government, and an end of the cold war.



Alan Nahigian

Or Maureen Dowd in the *New York Times Book Review*:

> Mr. Reagan made us feel good about ourselves and our country. . . . He told us we could have it all without paying for it. But after eight years of his Presidency . . . we did not feel good about the class divisions or the crass materialism or the economic programs that bypassed the poor and minorities.

Illusions, self-deception, and blind adherence to ideology are certainly on display here. But they are to be found in Mr. Reagan's liberal critics rather than in the former President. Merely examine the charges.

Prosperity a mirage? The U.S. enjoyed the longest peacetime expansion in its history during the Reagan years, one in which inflation was brought down and prices kept stable.

The cold war ended—but by someone other than Mr. Reagan? Whether the cold war is over may be debatable in the light of the Soviet crackdown in Lithuania. What is not debatable is that the Soviet empire in Central Europe has been dismantled. And the people of the former Communist countries have no doubt that President Reagan was the prime mover in their liberation. It is now only American intellectuals who, parochial to the last, cling to the argument that Mr. Gorbachev woke up one morning and decided to get rid of Communism.

Economic programs that bypassed the poor and minorities? When President Reagan left office, more Americans were in work than ever before,

---

Mr. O'Sullivan is NR*'s editor.*

but fewer were doing minimum-wage jobs. Real average income, which had fallen from 1978 to 1982, rose each year thereafter. And federal spending on low-income assistance programs—everything from AFDC to food stamps—rose by 12 per cent in real terms during the Reagan years.

If cornered on these points, Reagan's critics nimbly escape by pointing out that much of this expenditure was passed by Congress over the President's objections. This is partly true (and partly false), but it usefully establishes the underlying principle of anti-Reagan apologetics: the former President is to be given no credit for any benefits from expenditures during his term of office but is to be held solely responsible for any deficits such expenditures helped to swell.

Faced by Reagan, liberal critics become a herd of inverted Magoos, seeing only the poverty and failure that pre-dated his election and blind to the economic and social improvements that followed it. This false view prevents their glimpsing some things about Mr. Reagan that might be more to their taste.

For Mr. Reagan put his remoteness to steely political use. Throughout his career, he was able to discard old political allies who had become liabilities with little apparent pain. Campaign manager John Sears was dispatched into the wilderness of lobbying for South Africa thus:

"So, on the day that New Hampshire voters were going to the polls, I invited John, Jim Lake, and Charles Black to my hotel room and I asked them to resign. They took it well and I think they understood why the changes were necessary. . . . From then on, with the management changes we had made, the campaign ran smoothly . . ."

What applied to individuals applied also to causes. Mr. Reagan knew what many of his critics have yet to grasp: that a President is remembered for only a handful of vital political decisions such as the economic-recovery program and the military buildup of his first term. Everything else was subordinated to these objectives. Central America was put on the back burner for most of his first term; the right-to-life movement was given rhetorical support but little else; Judge Bork was nominated and abandoned until too late; and when the President's first foray into cutting popular domestic programs in the form of Social Security was resoundingly rebuffed by Congress in 1981, he never raised the issue again. It gets only two post-1980 mentions in this book.

This economical use of power produced a phenomenal record of achievement: the reduction of inflation by more than two-thirds; the halving of interest rates; the longest economic expansion in American peacetime; a comprehensive tax reform; negotiations leading to the first U.S.–USSR treaty actually to *reduce* nuclear weaponry on both sides; the retreat of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and of Cuba from Angola; the undermining of Soviet power in Europe; and the restoration of American power and prosperity. And all this with no grave crisis left for his successor to struggle with—save for the deficit, which was on a declining path.

But in politics, as someone said, you can achieve almost anything provided that you let someone else take the credit. Reagan's aides encouraged a picture of his Administration which showed them in charge while he slept—and he never seemed to mind this *lèse-majesté*. But why should he mind? His views on the major issues always prevailed in the end. And if aides took the credit for most decisions, the corollary was that they found themselves taking the blame for decisions that turned out badly.

Mr. Reagan, then, is a somewhat different political leader from the bumbling idiot of liberal myth—in private a kind and gentle man, in politics a charming Machiavellian, economical in his use of power, manipulative in his use of people, and modest when it comes to sharing out the credit. In short, a master politician.

The problem of this book is that memoirs are a form of taking the credit and Mr. Reagan simply can't do it. A lifetime of not fully showing his hand has bred in him a style of amiable discretion that he simply can't shake. His talented "ghost," Mr. Robert Lindsey, captures his tone of voice perfectly. But the effect is a kind of literary muzak in which the harsh edges of the last decade's political battles are softened in recollection.

An American Life is readable, full of good stories, and the record of a great Presidency. But it is not the inside story. Mr. Reagan is too good-natured to tell us that. ☐

A Soviet Life

MATTHEW SCULLY

The Man Who Changed the World: The Lives of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, by Gail Sheehy (HarperCollins, 401 pp., $22.95)

THE opening sentences of *The Man Who Changed the World* do not augur well for those wanting a sober, level-headed study of Mikhail Gorbachev: "The eyes. Everyone is struck by the gleam that blazes behind his dark eyes . . . as if with the intensity of his belief he had burned his image of a new world into their own retinas and they will never be quite the same."

They're forever "gleaming with adventure," those eyes, even as the voice remains "a steady, reassuring center in the maelstrom of events"—the sum effect being, quite simply, "dazzling" and "electrifying." Even a reluctant George Bush finally came around to admitting that, yes, "some strange chemical reaction seemed to have taken place between him and the Soviet president." It was as if, writes Mrs. Sheehy in her concluding paragraph, "with the intensity of his belief Mikhail Gorbachev had burned his image of a new world onto the retina of the President of the United States. The old Gorbachev magic was still in evidence." The dustjacket should perhaps carry an editor's note warning us to read the book through dark glasses, such is the danger this luminous being poses to our retinas.

And yet despite its breathless title and amorous preoccupation with physical detail, the book takes some startling turns. Between these romantic rhetorical interludes, our Man Who Changed the World is variously described as a hypocrite, a chameleon, a

---

Mr. Scully is NR*'s assistant literary editor.*

New Video Immersion Method™ Makes All Other Language Courses Obsolete!

French in Action
A Beginning Course in Language and Culture
The Capretz Method
FRENCH IN ACTION

Now, on home *video,* the most powerful language course ever created.

From asking directions to doing business, French in Action *brings French to life... on video! Includes everything you need: 7 video cassettes, 14 audio cassettes, a study guide, a text book and a workbook.*

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Why the Video Immersion Method™ is the Best Way to Learn a Language.

The language teaching technique of **"immersion"** has long been recognized by experts for its effectiveness.

The *Video Immersion Method™* goes one step further. Now, through video, the student is immersed in the **life and language** of the foreign country — **without leaving home, and at a fraction of the cost of other immersion courses.** Compare!

Immersion Course	Site	Cost
Resident	Tours, France	$4,000*†
Commercial	New York, NY	$5,500*
University	Hanover, NH	$3,000*
VIDEO IMMERSION METHOD™	**Your Own Home**	**$ 295**

*Estimated cost.
†Includes airfare.

Video Immersion Method™ Course in Spanish & German, Too!

Developed at U.C.L.A. for the Defense Language Institute, Video Immersion Method™ German includes 13 hours of video instruction on 7 cassettes, 14 audio cassettes, 3 textbooks, a Student's Guide plus Glossary and Cultural Notes. Video Immersion Method™ Spanish includes 13 hours of video language instruction, 15 audio cassettes in a handsome binder, and a complete course textbook.

■ Yale University, 1956. Pierre Capretz, a young French professor arrives from France with an extraordinary goal...to revolutionize language learning. So anyone could be fluent. Naturally. Easily. Through *immersion* in the foreign tongue.

Now, in 1990, the full power of the Capretz immersion method is available on home video.

Video Revolutionizes Language Learning!

The Video Immersion Method™ teaches French the same natural way you learned English: by seeing, observing and hearing it used in real-life.

You are *immersed* in the life and language of France. Surrounded by the sights and sounds. Exposed to every accent and gesture. A learning experience never before possible in any classroom language course. The full flavor of the language — not just words and verb charts — but the nuances of meaning and usage you can only acquire by *living* a language.

Proven at over 1000 Universities, Educational and Cultural Institutions Worldwide.

Acclaimed worldwide as a revolutionary breakthrough, *French in Action* is used successfully in leading universities around the world!

Experience the power of the Video Immersion Method™ in the comfort of your own home — learn at your own pace — for just $295 (plus $7.50 shipping and handling), payable in eight convenient monthly installments of just $37.81!

The Video Immersion Method™ language course will teach you faster, more effectively, and more enjoyably than any other language course you can acquire or attend — at any price. Your complete satisfaction is guaranteed.

© 1990 MBI

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Video Immersion Method™ Language Courses

The Language Laboratory
88 Long Hill Cross Road
Shelton, Conn. 06484

VHS Only

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Please send me the *Video Immersion Method™* course(s) I have indicated at $295* for each course (plus $7.50 shipping and handling.) I may return my purchase in its original condition within 30 days for a full refund.

	FRENCH	SPANISH	GERMAN
Quantity:			

Name
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Address

City/State/Zip

Please charge each of 8 monthly installments of $37.81* to my credit card:
☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard
☐ American Express ☐ Diners Club

Credit Card No. Expiration Date

Signature (All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my deposit of $122.50* for each course. I will pay the balance as billed in four monthly installments of $45.00* each.

*Applicable state sales tax, if any, will be billed with shipment.
Allow 2 to 4 weeks for shipment.
PAL not available.

560-1015

liar, an opportunist who groveled and pandered his way to power, and a heavyhanded Party hack unwilling to part with his own luxuries, which include five dachas or so and a limitless budget to keep Raisa, the "trained Marxist philosopher," in furs, Parisian finery, and a comfy Zil limousine of her very own.

"All the waiting," Mrs. Sheehy writes of Gorbachev's ascent to power, "all the years in 'Warm Siberia' [Stavropol], all the flattery and hypocrisy and doublethink had made this moment possible. Mikhail Gorbachev would at last have his day."

But somehow, in this otherwise sharp portrait, it doesn't occur to Mrs. Sheehy to ask how such a man can also be a "visionary" burning the retinas of lesser statesmen with his "intensity of belief." If the man is ultimately a self-seeker and a fraud —though preferable to the alternatives—is it morally relevant that he is also "charming," "witty," "warm," and "engaging"? And what are we to make of a biographer who, having catalogued his treacheries with wifely familiarity, is nevertheless uncontrollably "dazzled" or "enthralled" in his presence?

Her confusion seems to lie in mistaking complexity of character for depth. All his life, Mrs. Sheehy tells us—drawing from first-ever interviews with his boyhood friends in Privolnoye, Ukraine—Mikhail Sergeyevich has labored under feelings of guilt and shame over the fate of his father's parents. One night in 1937, Grandfather Gorbachev was ushered away by the secret police while "the baby Misha" (as Mrs. Sheehy gratingly calls him throughout the early chapters) looked on. Despite a nine-year sentence in the Gulag, he turned up at home in the early Forties having somehow gained appointment to a local Communist Party post. On his mother's side Grandfather Gopkalo, the patriarch, meanwhile proved more cooperative, rising to become the local "organizer of collective farms"—a job which surviving Privolnoyans say he performed ruthlessly.

"So," writes Mrs. Sheehy, "Mikhail Gorbachev learned two opposing life lessons: One said to preserve the pride of one's independence at all costs. . . . The other taught that survival entailed compromise—compromise with whoever was in power."

Whether the formation of any man's character can be reconstructed so neatly is debatable. At all events, the baby Misha seems to have taken the second of these life lessons more seriously. "He worked like a demon," writes Mrs. Sheehy, "and waited for the Party to notice," cultivating through the years "a talent for pleasing the right people." Duly pleased, the right people guided him along the path to power until at last he came to the attention of Yuri Andropov, who just before his own final reward gave Gorbachev the big push upward.

All along, though, this same inner complexity was evident in the ambitious "chameleon." In "law school" we find him rising in class to dispute the propriety of forced confessions: "'It's wrong, just plain wrong,'" Gorbachev would insist. And yet about the same time we find Gorbachev one night inviting a classmate, who also was a competitor for a Party job, to a local bar; it was drinks all around, on Misha's tab, until finally the fellow

RANDOM NOTES

■ 2PC4U. The campus debate over multiculturalism is being joined outside the halls of ivy, giving proof that what thrives in darkness withers in the light. Attacks on "politically correct" (PC) thinking have appeared in the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and, most recently and most notably, *New York* magazine. Liberal commentators writing in liberal publications are expressing their disgust with the new academic theology that they—and its practitioners—readily admit is essentially the Marxism discredited everywhere else in the world. I'll hazard the opinion that this liberal reaction against PC-ness is the revival of the traditional recognition of liberalism's Western roots. Diversity is not truth.

John Taylor's remarkable *New York* cover story, "Are You Politically Correct?" (Jan. 21) might as easily have appeared in *NR*. I asked Mr. Taylor if the PCs have begun demanding his re-education. "Not yet," he told me. "So far I've received positive comments, although the joke at *New York* is we won't be surprised if some gender feminists chain themselves to my desk."

Speaking of surprises, I asked Mr. Taylor if he had been surprised by what he found on campuses as he did his research. "Dumbfounded," he said. "I'd thought the political-correctness debate was just another quaint academic fashion like so many others—vicious simply because there's so little at stake—but the vindictiveness turns out not to be charming at all. In the name of a higher good, an attack is being made on academic freedom itself."

Too true. But take heart that Mr. Taylor tackled the subject and that *New York* surrendered its cover. (In fact, *New York* published the issue with two covers, one with a PC girl, another with a PC boy.) The story's opening spread is astonishing, given the magazine's generally liberal tilt and the near unanimous liberality of its readership: opposite Mr. Taylor's lead paragraphs are two photographs; one is of Red Guards parading "dunces" during China's Cultural Revolution, and the other shows Hitler Youth setting fire to books. Could those politically correct writers, professors, and bureaucrats mentioned in the article be more sharply stung than by such damning comparisons?

In his sweeping survey of the reductionist shenanigans of the multiculturalists and the deconstructionists, Mr. Taylor neatly identifies the principle unifying academia's neo-fascists: it is the belief that those *not* of the vanguard are lost in "false consciousness." The notion does have a perverse prophetic power: Ye see, and yet seeing ye do not see. It's a mystification that makes argument impossible, which is the point.

The authors of the December 24 *Newsweek* cover story (primarily Jerry Adler, but with contributions from eight others) took a more sympathetic view of PC-ism, choosing to dwell on what they seemed to accept as the reality of oppression; hence the propriety of placing an ideological thumb upon the scales of justice. Still, they did write this: "PC is, strictly speaking, a totalitarian philosophy."

They're right, and it's damn encouraging to read it someplace other than NATIONAL REVIEW. —BRAD MINER acted up and got himself arrested for "hooliganism," only to be denounced at the next morning's Komsomol meeting by his generous drinking buddy.

Reading of such inspiring acts of friendship, one is reminded that, born into that same miserable system, we too might have found ourselves ratting on friends, and sniveling and groveling without preserving even the scrap of integrity one detects today in Gorbachev. Still, the most charitable sifting of the evidence presented here does not leave the impression of a morally rich personality. None of Mrs. Sheehy's labored psychological analysis (there are supposedly various "lives" through which he has passed, acts of heroic "self-transformation" and so on) can make of her subject "a Russian King Lear" slowly groping toward humbling self-knowledge. The railing and accusation and self-flattery are all there, but little in the way of true repentance. "It was more than Misha could bear," Mrs. Sheehy writes of an injustice he witnessed in his early years. But even if by some pragmatic standard his life of calculated compromise is defensible, the hard truth remains that it was not more than Misha could bear. For he obviously did bear that injustice and many more afterward, painfully chronicled by Mrs. Sheehy herself. And is it ungrateful to point out that despite his political achievements—people no longer "disappear," as someone put it to the author—many continue to bear injustice at his own hands?

If Mrs. Sheehy were to apply her considerable psychological tools to introspection, one suspects she would find herself engaged reluctantly in the modern journalist's perpetual and illusory search for the Charismatic Leader. For all its sophistication, underlying the book is that same strange compulsion that, when our dazzling Soviet friend has stopped his motorcade on visits to American cities, led others to rush out to shake hands, shout their praise, or touch his garment, when a polite, respectful wave would have sufficed. It is not his goodness or badness that captivates, but, as with other Men Who Changed the World from Napoleon to Kennedy, his sheer celebrity. To be near him is to be near the center of excitement and drama. "Only up close," she writes in a particularly pathetic passage, "did one notice the purplish folds of fatigue drooping like curtains over the bright stage of his eyes; only when I stood right beside him did I glimpse the raw dents on either side of the nose, where glasses had worked into the flesh."

Shannon Jeffries

Still, if we must write odes to Men Who Changed the World, then on her own terms Mrs. Sheehy has been searching in the wrong place. A political "chameleon" changing shades may make for fascinating spectacle. But such creatures cannot "change the world" except in response to exterior influences; they're agents of change, but not the cause.

A hint as to just how the captivating chameleon came to change colors appears in an exchange he had at Camp David in 1987, a little detail Mrs. Sheehy records without seeming to grasp its significance: "'By the way,' his host gently advised him, 'it's in your interest [to change Soviet society], because successful societies are open societies.' If the Soviet leader wanted to belong to the club of Atlantic nations, the price would be 'a different kind of society.'" Gorbachev didn't take well to Ronald Reagan's "Uncle Sam pep talks," Mrs. Sheehy writes. At another summit, she reveals, Gorbachev tried to buffalo the U.S. on some important detail in arms negotiations just moments before the joint statement was to be released—only to be told simply, "'Well, I don't think we agreed to that.'" Annoyed at this last-minute hitch, she writes, the Soviet team nevertheless regrouped and promptly withdrew its new demand.

If the world truly changed, it happened not at some melodramatic meeting of the Supreme Soviet or through a tortured process of "self-transformation," but at moments such as these when the opportunist first encountered a man he couldn't flatter or browbeat. And that story begins not in Privolnoye, Ukraine, but in Dixon, Illinois. ☐

Father Curran, *ex Cathedra*

JOHN X. EVANS

EXACTLY a year ago Father Charles Curran lost the case he had brought against Catholic University of America in the Superior Court of the District of Columbia. In ruling against Curran, the presiding judge implicitly agreed with the university president's contention that there is "an ecclesiastical limit" on theological dissent at CUA and that the board of trustees had the right to suspend Father Curran from teaching theology there. Curran chose not to appeal because "success on appeal was far from certain." Instead he has made his case in *Catholic Higher Education, Theology, and Academic Freedom.*

The book has a measure of strength and appeal, not least because of Father Curran's tone; he is never vindictive toward his immediate adversaries and is touchingly grateful to the faculty, students, and attorneys who support him. To his credit, Father Curran provides in most cases an accurate, if not comprehensive, summary of the conservative Catholic views he disputes.

Catholic Higher Education, Theology, and Academic Freedom, by Charles E. Curran (University of Notre Dame Press, 272 pp., $27.95)

Readers who wonder if the Vatican and Catholic University have singled out Father Curran unfairly will find their answer in the deconstructionist

---

Mr. Evans is a professor of English at Arizona State University and author of a forthcoming book on heroism.

subtext of his book. Whatever one makes of his ideas, it becomes clear that Curran has little respect for Church authority, and that he would like the Church in the United States to chart its own course, much as our revolutionary ancestors did in the political realm two hundred years ago.

Theologians, we are told, must "try to understand and appropriate the word and work of Jesus in light of ongoing historical and cultural realities." Those who demur, insisting instead that history should be enlightened by the Gospel, have not made "the shift from classicism to historical consciousness." That is to say, they inhabit the intellectual wilderness of pre-modern and pre-critical epistemology, actually believing "that not everything is subject to change" and that "Christ is the truth that never varies and that is not discovered by human inquiry."

To give recent history its due, we should note that Father Curran is neither the first nor the foremost of clerical deconstructionists. Predecessors such as Father Hesburgh, the former president of Notre Dame and one of the most influential academic figures of our time, prepared the way for Curran's laissez-faire concept of academic freedom. Without them, Curran could not reinforce his thesis by arguing that "growth in learning is the immediate goal of the Catholic university while concern for faith and morals is clearly a less direct goal."

And yet for all his invocations of modern progress, Father Curran's own growth in learning seems to have neglected much of what has been going on during the last two centuries—in the history of both the Church and the United States. He writes as if all great breakthroughs in Catholic education took place after 1960—about when he and fellow "reformers" entered the picture. "Catholic thought," Father Curran writes, "has generally been fearful of freedom and constantly cautioned against the dangers of too much freedom." Thus, "Catholic leadership could not really accept the American notion of religious freedom and the separation of church and state."

Not only does this remark do injustice to the institution which gave Father Curran his theological education and vocational standing; it belittles as "fear" a usually healthy institutional disposition—caution—not at all unique to the Church. One need only turn, for instance, to *The Federalist Papers*, as democratic in spirit as anything in our heritage, to find James Madison in Number 63 warning "that liberty may be endangered by the abuses of liberty as well as by the abuses of power; that there are numerous instances of the former as well as the latter; and that the former, rather than the latter, is apparently most to be apprehended by the United States."

The Founders—lost as they were in that pre-modern "wilderness," and lacking Father Curran's "historical consciousness"—seem to have shared the Church's fear of "too much freedom." In any case, such quotations do not support his thesis that the United States and the Catholic Church operate on fundamentally conflicting principles. The two must guard equally against abuses of trust.

For Father Curran, academic freedom is not a means toward truth but a good in itself; Catholic theologians must therefore have the same freedom as other scholars. Anticipating the reply that Catholic theologians will make mistakes just as everyone else does, he assures us, without much evidence, that mistakes can be corrected. To the objection that a theologian's mistakes could have very damaging moral consequences, he responds authoritatively that there really is no danger. Responsible Catholic theologians, he assures us, will always inform their audience when they are deviating from orthodox teaching, and "the academy itself provides a context and milieu that promotes and somewhat safeguards the search for truth even in Catholic theology." But what, one wonders, is "somewhat" of a safeguard? How would Father Curran like to be somewhat safeguarded from drowning or assault?

In pressing his argument for full academic freedom and for a Church which understands the Gospel "in the light of the contemporary scene," Father Curran claims the Second Vatican Council as his authority. He reminds us (with a minimum of context) that "The council affirmed 'the legitimate autonomy of culture.' " It is only fair to remind Father Curran of other council affirmations, namely that "Christian freedom is fortified by obedience" ("Dogmatic Constitution of the Church") and that "Theological subjects should be taught in the light of faith, under the guidance of the magisterium of the Church" ("Decree on the Training of Priests").

Father Curran's struggle is not that of a wronged man seeking justice, but the on-going struggle to define what *Catholic* means in the modern world. Regrettably, his redefinition of Catholic theology would include selective approval of abortion, premarital intercourse, and homosexuality. These are among the great causes which he serves, driven, we are told, by a sense of "creative fidelity . . . to the work and word of Jesus." About the author's creativity, this labor of self-justification will leave no one in doubt. If only he would channel more of that zeal into fidelity. ☐

The Sun Never Sets

THOMAS E. SMITH

The Japan That Can Say No, by Shintaro Ishihara, translated by Frank Baldwin (Simon & Schuster, 158 pp., $18.95)

At last, English-speaking readers can buy an authorized version of the Japanese bestseller, *The Japan That Can Say No.* It is not identical to the Japanese edition (or the "pirate" translation circulated in the U.S.), but this is not to say that the sharp point of the original has been blunted.

Shintaro Ishihara gives that point a memorable name: technonationalism. In this sound-bite age, a catchy buzzword is necessary to focus an issue, and Mr. Ishihara invites—demands—a hard look at Japan's place in the world. The United States and the Soviet Union are accorded superpower status because they can lob missiles through space to distant targets. The fact that Japanese-made microchips can guide those missiles to

---

Mr. Smith is a financial consultant in Mesa, Arizona.

“After an American decade marred by greed and self-indulgence...

THIS BOOK IS A NATIONAL SERVICE”

—THEODORE C. SORENSEN, New York Times Book Review

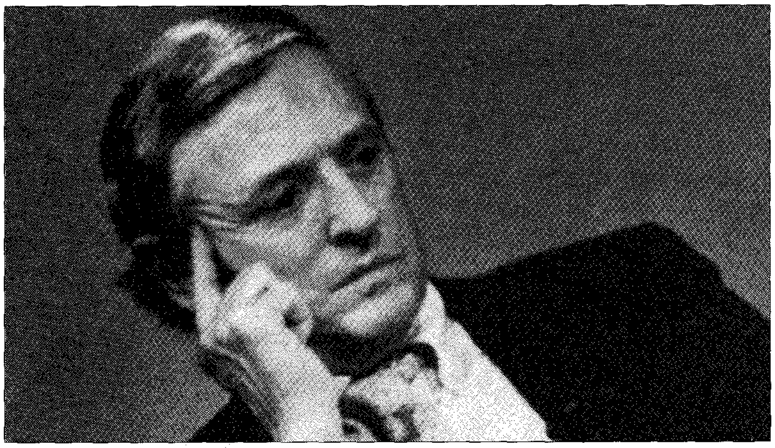


Photo: Jan Lukas

gratitude

REFLECTIONS ON WHAT WE OWE TO OUR COUNTRY

william f. buckley, jr.

In a book that is a call to conscience, one of America’s most provocative intellects proposes the unexpected: a system of universal volunteer service (from planting gardens to caring for the elderly) for every American over the age of 18.

“*Gratitude* transfixes the reader’s mind and provokes one to imagine ways that the United States might reinvigorate itself.”

—*The New York Times*

$16.95, now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE

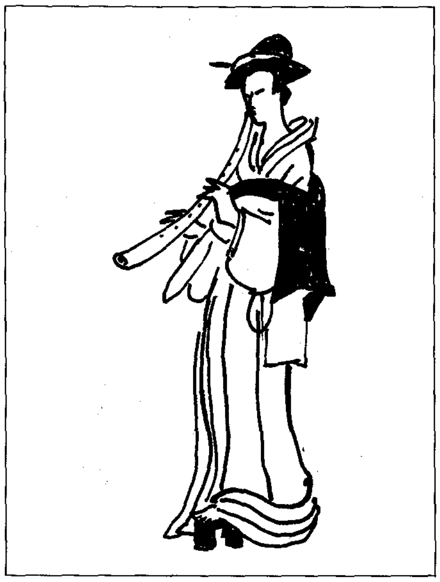
their targets must not be disparaged. If a new world order is evolving, the land of the rising sun will not be consigned to the shadows.

Shintaro Ishihara is a politician who also writes, not a writer who follows politics. He is a member of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party; he was formerly minister of transport, and has been a candidate for prime minister. *The Japan That Can Say No* is not disinterested scholarship. It is a look into the thoughts of a member of the Japanese Diet who may influence, or even make, national policy.

Technonationalism is not a designer issue, like global warming or nuclear winter. The British practiced it when they had the machinery of the Industrial Revolution to themselves, and the United States, in keeping with the deterrent strategies of the cold war, has produced many generations of weapons systems instead of combat veterans. Mr. Ishihara is right to consider applied technology a valuable bargaining chip in what he describes as "the high-stakes poker game of international politics."

While Mr. Ishihara does not shy from shocking phrases, he uses them in the context of a complete discussion of U.S.–Japan relations, trade agreements, strategic alliances, and cooperation. He uses the stick to deliver an attention-getting thwack between the eyes, but also shows us the carrots that make ongoing partnership with Japan a logical and profitable course. His critique of the United States is balanced by criticism of Japanese practices that amount to protectionism, which stifles trade and raises costs. With thickets of red tape and armies of middlemen obstructing the flow of affordable imports to Japan's consumers, he concedes that "even Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot would be baffled by how goods in Japan get from the factory or farm to the consumer."

Mr. Ishihara is not anti-American, but he has had it with demagogic Japan bashing. He is angry about American racism, and he does not use the term to denote absence of preferential subsidies or the presence of paid state holidays. He means unfair and unequal treatment that follows racial lines. Only about one-sixth of foreign direct investment in the U.S. comes from Japan, but no hysteria accompanies British, Dutch, German, and Canadian business transactions. The sound and fury is reserved for the Japanese, and for no apparent reason but race.



A recent example is Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan's eruption over the acquisition of MCA by Matsushita Electric Industries. An MCA subsidiary has a contract for concessions at Yosemite National Park, and Lujan depicts this as foreign control over a national shrine. Since every inch of Yosemite National Park itself still belongs to the U.S., Secretary Lujan seems to be consecrating the souvenir shops that sell trinkets made in Taiwan to tourists from Canada and Europe. In its comparatively brief history, the United States has spent more years at war with the Germans, and even with the British, than with the Japanese. Constructive relations with all three have since been forged, and mutual understanding can keep those relationships healthy. That is no small concern in a world where even standing up to a country the size of Iraq requires global cooperation and multinational support.

While Shintaro Ishihara is not the voice of all Japan, his is a Japanese voice, not that of a Western analyst or some stereotype of the polite and inscrutable Oriental. In part one, written for Japanese readers and published before the recent elections, he is more strident than in part two, written after the elections and with American readers in mind. The positions are consistent, but the shift from campaigner to explainer is palpable.

As Mr. Ishihara shows, the Japanese are, to say the least, people with whom we can do business, and that means products, jobs, markets, and even tax revenues for us. The Honda Accord is now officially a "domestic" automobile, because the car and its parts are predominantly Made in the U.S.A., just like Lee Iacocca's Mitsubishi-powered Plymouths.

If technonationalism is the name of the game, Shintaro Ishihara wants the world to know that the Japanese are prepared to play. For amateur or professional futurists trying to divine the shape of a new world order, *The Japan That Can Say No* is essential reading. ☐

Bad Blood

MICHAEL FUMENTO

TO FORESTALL bigotry in any of his children, my father used to tell us that since my mother had received blood from a black man after her first pregnancy, we were all part black (except, I guess, the one born first). Only later did we learn that it *could* have been a black man and that genetically speaking this was utterly irrelevant. Anyway, it did work, or at least none of us did grow up racist, and it's a nice example of how when we talk about blood and blood donations, there's a lot of emotional and symbolic play that goes on.

The main point of this book is that the nation's blood supply is far less safe than we've been led to believe—that it is a veritable cornucopia of pathogens. "The number of diseases known to spread through the blood has grown and multiplied," write the authors. "Today, infections that can be transmitted through blood transfusion

Safe Blood: Purifying the Nation's Blood Supply in the Age of AIDS, by Joseph Feldschuh with Doron Weber (Free Press, 180 pp., $19.95)

Mr. Fumento, a freelance writer living in Denver, is author of The Myth of Heterosexual AIDS.

include: non-A, non-B hepatitis; hepatitis B; AIDS [HIV]; cytomogalovirus infection; Epstein–Barr virus; HTLV-I; HTLV-II; syphilis; and malaria. Other rare infectious complications are: HIV-2; Chagas's disease, brucella abortus; salmonella septicaemia . . ."

There are tests to detect many of these, says co-author Joseph Feldschuh—himself a physician—but none are perfect and some are pretty far from. Moreover, he says, the American Association of Blood Banks and the American Red Cross, the two largest blood-collecting and -distributing organizations in the country, far from being the altruistic, non-profit enterprises they claim to be, are out to make a buck even if this includes playing down some of the risks of their product. He recounts the shameful, now-well-known episode in which blood banks essentially conspired not to put into effect AIDS screening methods that could have protected blood recipients but would have offended some homosexual groups.

To be sure, say the authors, there are some methods individual recipients can use to reduce their risks, such as blood salvaging, in which the patient's blood is caught in a container and put back into his system during an operation, or preoperative autologous blood donations, where a patient facing elective surgery can have his own blood taken and saved weeks in advance. But all of these have drawbacks. The real solution, say Feldschuh and Doron Weber, is fresh *frozen* blood, which sounds like something you'd find on a Transylvanian restaurant menu but simply means giving blood well ahead of time and then freezing it, save for the platelets, which current technology cannot freeze well. This way the blood can be kept more or less indefinitely (ten years, according to FDA regulations), rather than be thrown out if the person doesn't need it within six weeks.

The first problem with Feldschuh's thesis is a common one: to add emphasis to the solution, one is always tempted to overstate the problem. True, there are lots of nasties floating around in blood, and more are being discovered all the time; but, aside from the HIVs, the reason they're only being discovered now isn't that they never existed in the blood supply before; rather, it's that the art of viral detection is steadily improving—as is the art of viral screening. In fact, the blood supply is far safer now than it has ever been.

Clearly this is a book that would not have been published but for the AIDS crisis, yet even Feldschuh and Weber admit that the risk of getting the disease via transfusion is a fraction of the risk of getting hepatitis B. Not that this keeps the authors from pumping up the risk of AIDS-related transfusion as high as possible. For instance, they cite a much-ballyhooed study released in the June 1989 issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine* (*NEJM*) to the effect that a tremendous number of "silent infections" are not showing up in HIV antibody tests. Feldschuh says the study has "to date not been disputed." Funny thing, because my own highly publicized book disputed it, referencing numerous published studies to show that the *NEJM* study was an aberration. Further, the December 14, 1989, *NEJM* contained no fewer than five *additional* studies used by their authors to refute the first one.

Whether Feldschuh is deceitful or just plain sloppy, calculations using false or outdated figures permeate this book. For AIDS prevalence data, for example, he relies on such authorities as Masters & Johnson and an outdated estimate from the federal Centers for Disease Control which was substantially lowered ten months before *Safe Blood* came out.

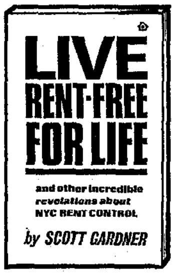
And if the problem has been exaggerated, what of the proposed solution, fresh frozen autologous blood? Go back to the main problem with the non-frozen variety: it's only good for elective surgery. In case of emergency, the blood used is the blood on hand, which isn't very likely to be the patient's own, sitting in a freezer perhaps thousands of miles away and taking about an hour and a half to thaw in any case. Further, there is the real possibility that however much blood you stored it will not be enough—patients have sometimes received a hundred or more units during a 24-hour period. Now multiply that by the low probability of needing blood in the first place, which you must multiply by the ever-shrinking possibility of infection via transfusion, and the probability that your fresh frozen blood is going to

Why Rent Control must NOT be abolished

As former owner of a small Manhattan townhouse, I used to think that rent control was a law that would be abolished just as soon as enough people found out what a rip-off it was. I even wrote a book poking fun at New York City's fifty-year-old "temporary wartime measure" in the hope that ridicule would accelerate its demise. I now realize I was wrong. Far too many people benefit from rent control for it to *ever* be abolished.

Without rent control causing thousands of perfectly usable buildings to be abandoned, the city's drug pushers would not have all those rent-free apartments in which to conduct their business. Without rent control, the city's Bolsheviks and rabid tenant activists would have to postpone their Marxian agenda of destroying all private property. Then pity the inept bureaucrats who pretend to administer that rat's nest of gobbledygook statutes. Without rent control, they might have to go out and get *real* jobs. And don't forget those political hacks who can only get elected by continuing to give the tenant lobby "something for nothing." Confiscating an owner's property with rent control fills the bill because buildings are the *only* things in the city that can't be transported over the State line.

But worst of all, without rent control, Mayor Dinkins, ex-mayor Koch, and hundreds of judges, politicians, and upper-income renters would have to give up the cheap apartments they've enjoyed for years. All these idealists continue to pretend--and expect us to believe --that rent control is vital to protect the homeless from greedy landlords. Finally, without the inspirational, heart-warming experiences I had as a New York property owner, I never would have written my book, *Live Rent-Free For Life,* which makes me the first landlord in the world to actually make money out of rent control. If this law gets booted, my book becomes obsolete and I'm out of business.



Since you now see the chaos that would ensue if rent control were abolished, you can assuage your disappointment (and laugh yourself silly) by reading the first book ever written that reveals the wild and wacky world of rent control as it *really is*: a socialist's dream, an economist's nightmare, and a blatant government scam too lucrative to give up. It all adds up to a vast untapped field of comedy for *you* to enjoy. But order a copy now, before the enterprising pushers, political hacks, inept bureaucrats, and rabid Bolsheviks decide to abolish yours truly. Send $11.95 (postage included) to: Scott Gardner, Box 248R, 1173A 2nd Ave., New York 10021, or call toll-free: **1-800-388-7738.**

do you any good is mighty low. Yet upfront costs for this procedure will be about $300 depending on how much blood is stored, and monthly maintenance costs will be around $50. Thus, we're talking pretty hefty insurance compared to the probability of risk. In a country in which a third of the population can't afford health insurance, something people are virtually certain to use, Feldschuh and Weber's solution seems best suited for those of us who can drive to the autologous-blood storage facility in a new Porsche or BMW.

Speaking of which, it bears noting that Feldschuh is the president of a corporation which is, sure enough, an autologous-blood storage facility. In other words, his book pushes his product. This is not unlike asbestos-removal companies that put articles in school magazines expounding on the terrors of low-level asbestos exposure. In and of itself, Feldschuh's pecuniary interest is not an indictment of the book, but it is curious that he makes such a big deal over the American Red Cross and individual blood banks being out for a profit. Clearly, the misleading material in this book demands an explanation, and the bottom line on it could be Feldschuh's corporate bottom line. □

SOUND ON DISC

Composers and Critics

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

A CONTEMPORARY of Robert Schumann's remarked that he was "the greatest of music critics among composers, and the greatest composer among music critics." Today we can ponder over the ambiguities of the statement, but in Schumann's time it was meant as the ultimate accolade to one whose influence on the course of nineteenth-century music was far more significant than what he produced as a composer.

Lisa Haney

It is well to remember that not all of musical Europe considered him the successor to Beethoven. Vincent d'Indy, with roots in a more sophisticated Paris, grunted at the "clumsiness" of Schumann's orchestration, which of course is nonsense. Schumann, whose compositions were set down almost *ad libitum*, orchestrated his works to the full extent of his needs, his concepts, and his inspiration. He was basically an improviser—as he tacitly admitted and as his symphonies inform us—and his greatest strength was in what he wrote for the keyboard. Symphony No. 1 in B flat and Symphony No. 4 in D Minor, tastefully recorded by Ricardo Chailly and the Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra (London 425 608-2), are faithful to Schumann's expression—rhythmic, romantic without sentimentality, brimming over with attractive themes, and showing us what the music of the time was, before Wagner sat on it. There are hints in No. 4 of the depression which led to his suicide attempt and his subsequent tragic mental breakdown, but both are full of a Germanic musical spring.

■ As a critic, Schumann was ahead of his contemporaries in perceiving the latent genius in Johannes Brahms. An "eaglet," he called him, and wrote of his music as "bright and spontaneous," full of "ease and grace," with "no harsh colors, no forced effects." Schumann realized, as well, that Brahms was achieving what he himself had failed at—an integration of the most valuable elements in the classical tradition with a surging romanticism. Brahms lived up to those expectations, but he wrote little for voice—something I have perhaps in error interpreted as a kind of rebuke to Wagnerian opera. In *Works for Chorus & Orchestra* Brahms showed that had he been interested in writing for the operatic stage, he would surely have been more successful in the genre than Beethoven. In these *Works*—Herbert Blomstedt felicitously conducting the San Francisco Orchestra and Chorus (London 430 281-2)—Brahms bares his inner feelings far more than in other compositions. The "Alto Rhapsody," a setting of Goethe verses finely sung by the mezzo-soprano Jard van Nes; the "*Schicksalslied*," or "Song of Destiny"; and the "*Gesang der Parzen*," or "Song of the Fates," express what Miguel de Unamuno called "the tragic sense of life" and a pervasive belief in Divine indifference to man. Yet this introspective choral music is never dirge-like, and it is buoyed up by the frequent use of the syncopes which Brahms so admired in ragtime.

■ Reviewing the concert at which Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 in B Minor, the *Pathétique*, made its London debut, George Bernard Shaw found much to praise but could not resist a Shavian jab at the composer's "thoroughly Byronic power of being tragic, momentous, romantic about nothing at all." Tchaikovsky had committed suicide a week after the first performance in Moscow, so that Shaw's comment was a little foolish. But then Tchaikovsky has always been a target for foolish comments. Even today, his defenders find evidence in his music of a struggle to keep his homosexuality in the closet, or tell us that he had resolved the problem when he wrote the Symphony No. 5 in E Minor "in happiness." You can judge the validity of this kind of criticism by listening to two excellent readings—No. 5 by Charles Dutoit and the Orchestre Symphonique de Montréal (London 425 503-2) and No. 6 by Riccardo Muti and the Philadelphia Orchestra (EMI/Angel CDC 7 54061). What you have in these two symphonies—brilliant with color and mood, melody and harmony—is a Slavic translation of man's tourney with life and fate—or, as some would have it, Fate. They used to call it the Russian

---

Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books.*

soul, a product of that vast, brutal, sometimes incomprehensible country.

■ *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, Richard Strauss's tone poem to Nietzsche's clanking "philosophical" work, is a rousing piece of music, and one more example of Strauss's inquiries into polyharmony, polyrhythm, and polytonality—as well as his Germanic *Expressionismus*. If there is a Nietzschean "program" I fail to find it. The tone poem is good bravura music, with much brass and kettledrum—perfect to wake up an audience too full of martinis and dinner. This is not said pejoratively, for there are lovely passages in which Strauss does not wear his Teutonic spurs. And let us be grateful to this Richard for rescuing the opera from the Wagnerian Richard's hands. Though for a time a disciple, Strauss in his own operas put an end to Wagner's practice of forcing beefy tenors and sopranos to milk their fingers or tell their beads for ten minutes while the orchestra "explains" what they have just sung. This is no problem in the *Zarathustra*, which does not succumb to musical elephantiasis. Its juices are stirringly extracted from the score by Vladimir Ashkenazy and the Cleveland Orchestra (London 425 608-2).

■ *Carreras Domingo Pavarotti*, without commas this is the title of a new CD, a recording of a concert at the Caracalla Baths in Rome in which Juan, Placido, and Luciano sang. It was billed as a confluence of the three greatest tenor voices of our time, with an orchestra led by Zubin Mehta. Well, I remember Gigli and after him Ferruccio Tagliavini, who came as close to Caruso as may be possible. And I note, *mea culpa*, that Carreras forces, that Domingo tends to be nasal in the upper register, and that Pavarotti's dynamics begin and end at *fortissimo*. But these three do give us friendly performances of great operatic war horses and some Latin and Parisian pop songs like *"La Vie en rose"* and *"Caminito"* (London 430 433-2).

■ But we have Mozart forever and now, with new recordings of the *Requiem* and the *Mass in C Minor*, known as the *Great*. Both were left unfinished by Mozart and were brought to score by study of his notebooks and suggestions he had imparted to close colleagues. A whole mythology of cloaked figures has grown up around the *Requiem*, but this does not lead Carlo Maria Giulini down any Lewis Carroll rabbit-hole (Sony SK 45577). Guilini also conducts the *Great Mass*, immortal mainly for its arioso, *"Et incarnatus est,"* perhaps the greatest piece of vocal writing we have. But it must be sung with almost no vibrato—purely, purely—and this is something I have not found in any recent recordings, including this one. Jard van Nes's voice is again very good, but not right for this work (EMI/Angel SK 45577).

■ I call to your attention Stephane Grappelli's *No Other Love*. As a violinist, Grappelli was one of those perceptive Frenchmen who with Hugues Panassié brought jazz to France. Here on this record, he plays piano—and well—in a style which combines the work of William "the Lion" Smith and any number of cocktail-lounge pianists (CBS MK 46257). And if I am not expelled from the fraternity, I would also call to your attention a series of original recordings of Frank Sinatra, entitled (ugh) *Songs for Swinging Lovers*. In the past, we sneered at Sinatra, but on these records he sings close to the melody, but always with a sense of a vocalist's duty, excellent phrasing, and with a good pop voice (Capitol UDCD 538). □

ART

Highs, Lows, and Furbelows

JAMES GARDNER

HERE IN New York few critics if any will be sorry to see the Museum of Modern Art's "High & Low" exhibition leave town. Few of the critics in Chicago and Los Angeles, to which it travels next, are likely to receive it with much enthusiasm either. Why do the critics hate this show? What is going on when, like a rare and ominous alignment of the planets, the critics of the *New York Times*, the *New York Observer*, and *The Journal of Art* vilify the exhibition as though with one voice?

"High & Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture" deals with one of the most vexed issues of contemporary cultural discourse—the muddy crossroads where high culture and popular culture meet and interact. Implicit in all of this are a clutch of treacherous questions: Is high culture elitist and arbitrarily defined? Is popular culture better because more democratic? Should museums be addressing such issues at all?

The big idea behind "High & Low" was not, it must be said, terribly brilliant or profound. Full justice can be done to it in ten words: Modern art borrowed from mass culture, which it also influenced. Anything else said on that subject is merely elaboration.

In the first rooms of the exhibition, the cubist collages of Picasso and Braque announce their lowly nativity in the cradles of journalism and advertising. Leger's mechanomorphic damsels are revealed as the natural daughters of Bibendum, the Michelin tire man. As Warhol and Rosenquist would be unthinkable without mass-

BOOKS ON CASSETTES

- The Conservative Classics
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase & 30 Day Rentals
- Books by Buckley, Gilder, Sowell, Muggeridge, Paul Johnson, Friedman, Hayek, Tocqueville, Kirk, Mises, Podhoretz, Kistol, Neuhaus, Rusher, Twain, & scores of others.

MARTIN GILBERT
THE
SECOND
WORLD
WAR
A COMPLETE HISTORY

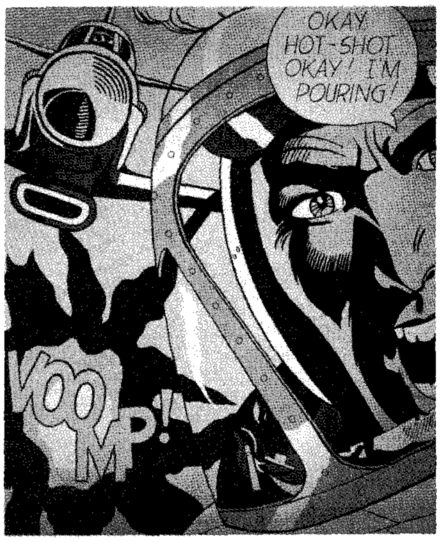
CLASSICS ON TAPE
P.O. Box 969, Ashland, OR 97520
- For Free Catalog, Call

1 (800) 729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239

marketing and billboards, so it is that Cy Twombley's scribblings owe their existence to graffiti, Lichtenstein's Benday-dotted reveries are lifted bodily out of D.C. Comics, and the late sneaker paintings of Philip Guston echo the ironies of R. Crumb.

Though the two curators, Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, had the cheek to present such pairings as their own bright ideas, none of it was news to us critics. As many critics pointed out, these connections were never doubted by anyone in the know. What these critics missed, however, is the quite astonishingly simple fact that exhibitions are not meant exclusively or even primarily for critics, who spend their lives mooning over images and doing little else. Rather they are for the public at large, who, precisely because they have other things to do with their lives, can devote only a few scattered moments of their leisure to the inspection of art. But the problem with the show, and with its critical reception, goes much deeper. The unspoken, unchallenged assumption that all critics and all curators seem to share is that an exhibition, through the collectivity of its artifacts, can and must illustrate a thesis. It used to be that a museum was a big box where inspiring objects were kept for the edification of the public. Exhibitions merely brought together in a single space multiple examples of a specific artist or a specific school. Today this notion is unacceptable. The curator is expected to impose his world view upon the objects in his custody, much as a conductor must forge his own music out of someone else's notes. The problem is that a concatenation of images, by its very nature, is usually too inarticulate to enunciate any hypothesis worth considering. Such points of genuine insight as the curator might have are brutally simplified in this process, and the best we can hope for is that they will be discussed at greater length, as in the present instance, in a massive catalogue.


OKAY HOT-SHOT OKAY! I'M POURING!
VOOMP!

© The Museum of Modern Art / George A. Hearn Fund

In excoriating the show's curators, Hilton Kramer, the incandescent critic of the *New York Observer* and one of the most redoubted conservative art critics in America, damns "High & Low" as "a show in which the intellectual fashions of the academic are cynically joined with the commercial imperatives of the contemporary art market." Mr. Kramer's heart is in the right place, yet his reasoning is suspect. He is driven to this condemnation through an almost reflexive response to the mere framing of the question that the show seeks to answer: What is the nature of modernism's interaction with low culture? He knows that usually, when art types start talking about the interpenetration of high and low culture, what they really mean is that they can't tell the difference between the two, or that they can and they wish the former would just go away. Mr. Kramer attributes either or both of these prepossessions to the curators of "High & Low." Yet even if he's right, by itself that would not warrant our dismissing their research, which is generally quite useful.

Elsewhere, in reviewing the curators' minute research into the aesthetics of storefronts, comics, and advertising, Mr. Kramer chastens them for adopting an archaeological approach to art. And we ask: What's wrong with that? Only where archaeology presumes upon the place of disinterested judgment does it imperil the distinctions between high and low art. Otherwise it is merely one of the many ways in which we approach the object of our affection. One does not love a woman for her furbelows, but if one loves the woman, one will come to love the furbelows too. Thus it is human, in loving modern art, to feel an emotional attachment as well to the superannuated circumstances in which that art was nurtured and grew.

There is, however, one massive criticism of the exhibition's intellectual underpinning which, to my knowledge, no critic has yet seen fit to make. Essentially, I do not care very much about the distinctions between high and low culture. Most of the culture worth experiencing, though surely not all of it, dates from before the Industrial Revolution. Distinctions between high and low culture become relevant only after that point. I challenge anyone to prove that Homer is high culture. Yet he was a great poet. The cave paintings of Lascaux are great art, as are Sassinid silver and the rugs of Anatolia. But in what sense can any of this be called high culture? Weren't the candy-box vapidities of Couture, the foremost academic painter of the Second Empire, culturally "higher" than the caricatures of Daumier? And wasn't Swinburne's poetry "artier" than Dickens's prose?

Distinctions between high and low culture are too easy to make. They do not denote discernment so much as that which takes its place. The true distinction is between good art and bad. Everything else, to a greater or lesser degree, is irrelevant. □

Mr. Gardner writes regularly on art for NR *and* Commentary.

DARE WE SAY IT?

For information or to arrange a visit,
CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-634-9797.
From Canada, call collect: 805/525-4417.

Or write: Thomas J. Susanka, Director of Admissions
Box 105
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
10000 North Ojai Road
Santa Paula, CA 93060

TRANS-O-GRAM / *Kem Putney*

1 I	2 C	3 O	4 D	■	5 K	6 M	7 J	8 B	■	9 A	10 F	■	11 L	12 P	13 N	14 E	■	15 H	16 Q	■	17 C
18 D	19 K	20 F	21 J	■	22 P	23 O	■	24 N	25 L	26 G	27 F	■	28 E	29 H	30 R	31 T	32 M	33 B	■	34 A	35 K
■	36 J	37 G	38 F	39 I	■	40 P	■	41 E	42 N	43 B	44 L	■	45 K	46 Q	47 C	48 D	49 H	■	50 M	51 J	52 G
53 F	■	54 O	55 N	56 B	57 D	■	58 L	59 F	60 C	61 J	62 P	63 M	64 K	65 E	66 S	67 T	■	68 R	69 G	70 A	71 J
72 B	■	73 K	74 P	75 N	76 I	77 S	78 D	■	79 C	80 M	81 O	82 E	83 K	■	84 C	85 P	86 K	■	87 J	88 F	89 H
90 G	91 L	92 A	■	93 Q	94 S	■	95 F	96 R	■	97 T	98 G	99 I	100D	■	101P	102N	103E	104H	■	105A	106B
107L	■	108T	109S	110G	■	111H	112K	113N	114J	■	115G	116Q	117I	118N	119H	120A	■	121B	122O	■	123E
124M	125D	■	126H	127I	128K	129Q	■	130C	131O	132J	133Q	134A	■	135T	136E	137I	138C	139J	■	140F	141O
142N	143R	■	144G	145T	146O	147L	148D	■	149C	150P	151D	152S	■	153E	154B	155C	156H	157O	158L	159D	160I
161F	■	162I	163B	164N	■	165A	166P	167J	168C	■	169F	170L	171K	172H	■	173M	174C	175O	176R	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A.	Barest of suits?	165 9 92 34 105 120 70 134
B.	Did better with the hammer	163 121 8 72 106 56 43 154 33
C.	Home of Daniel Webster (2 words)	168 79 17 174 84 47 60 138 149 2 155 130
D.	From above	18 100 48 151 78 159 148 4 57 125
E.	French composer, more frequent than a German one?	82 41 28 14 65 123 103 153 136
F.	Only, for the posh	53 59 20 140 88 10 95 38 27 169 161
G.	Common speed limit, until recently (hyph.)	90 98 52 110 144 115 37 26 69
H.	Like a mangy cur	89 126 172 29 111 15 156 104 119 49
I.	Basic	137 117 127 99 39 162 1 76 160
J.	Supplies anew	71 167 132 36 61 114 51 7 21 139 87
K.	Popular collegiate sport (2 words)	128 19 112 5 86 45 35 73 171 64 83
L.	Truths	147 91 25 44 158 11 170 58 107
M.	Tracing	6 124 173 50 63 80 32
N.	Biblical patriarch	13 113 164 102 42 142 75 118 55 24
O.	1957 Doris Day musical (2 words)	122 141 81 146 3 175 54 157 131 23
P.	Well's alternative, once (2 words)	74 40 12 85 22 150 101 166 62
Q.	Perceive without teaching	116 16 133 46 93 129
R.	Marsh bird	96 176 30 68 143
S.	Group of eight	109 66 94 152 77
T.	Irk	108 145 135 97 31 67

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 60 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunity

SAN ANTONIO. An elegant inn. Complimentary: airport pickup, late-model automobile, breakfast, cocktail hour. $69/night, Sunday–Thursday. 512-733-1998.

Situations Available

GOVERNMENT OFFICES and public-policy employers looking to hire. Send résumé. Leadership Institute Job and Talent Bank, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151; 703-321-8580.

Situations Wanted

1990 NOTRE DAME GRADUATE, male, electrical engineer, seeks entry-level position in technical marketing/consulting field. Excellent management/leadership skills. Contact: Cavanaugh, 2210 Riviera Place, Longmont, Colo. 80501-4754.

Resort/Vacation Rentals

EXQUISITE 4-BEDROOM RENTAL, Poipu Beach, Kaui. Tennis, golf. 415-927-4751.

Real Estate

WESTERN COLORADO'S heartland, Montrose. Homes, ranches, businesses. Real Estate Exchange. Call Bob, 800-950-9299.

FLYFISHING PARADISE. Private 2-bedroom, 2-bath house on the legendary upper Beaverkill. 13 acres with 400′ river frontage at the famous Craigie Clair pools. 2½ hours from New York. Ideal for weekends. Cross-country skiing in winter. $245,000. Call Rob Eggleton, 607-498-5222.

Professional Services

SKILLED RESEARCH FOR AUTHORS, musicians, lawyers. Prompt. Moderate rates. Gregory Audette, 603-643-5116.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

Paul Craig Roberts:
On Keynes

There is much talk these days about "the crisis in Keynesian economics." That some such crisis exists is evident from the bewilderment and impotence our economic policy makers are displaying in their confrontation with economic reality.

"THE BUSINESS of every art is to bring something into existence."—Aristotle. Fuller and D'Angelo, P.C., Architects & Planners, 595 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10607-1894.

FREE LISTING, conservative attorneys: Write on your letterhead, "I am a conservative, please list me in the Conservative Attorneys Referral Directory." Send to: Legal Affairs Council, Freedom Plaza, Dept. N, 14018-A Sullyfield Circle, Chantilly, Va. 22021.

MOVING TO INDIANAPOLIS? Residential-relocation realtor will assist with all needs. Call Karen Warren, Century 21, Alexander & Associates, 800-521-2557.

Investment Opportunities

REPOSSESSED VA & HUD homes available from government from $1 without credit check. Your repair. Also S&L bailout properties. Call 805-682-7555, ext. H-3068, for repo list your area.

Audio

LISTEN TO the great thinkers of our time—J. Kirkpatrick, Milton Friedman, et al. Send $3 (postage/handling) for sample. Audio View, P. O. Box 6, Springfield, Va. 22150.

Financial

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to $500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270 (KH7).

Personal

SINGLE SAN FRANCISCO MAN—40s, loyal, idealistic, hardworking (M.D.), self-made, playful, fit, delighted by literature, movies, the outdoors—seeks woman match for best-friendship, then marriage, children. P. O. Box 282876, San Francisco, Calif. 94128.

GRADUATE STUDIES INTERFERED with romance. Single, attractive woman scientist, 38, seeks contact with conscientious single or widowered man who enjoys classical music, social dancing, cycling, etc. NR Box 2029.

WASHINGTON, D.C., man, tall, slim, 52. Very supportive, good communicator, committed listener; seeks slender, vivacious woman to share magic moments. Photo appreciated. John, P. O. Box 190, Leesburg, Va. 22075.

U.S.–ASIAN CONNECTION. Make lasting penfriends. Free photo brochure. 702-451-3070.

SCANDINAVIA, POLAND, RUSSIA, etc.: Worldwide link between unattached professionals. Scanna International, P. O. Box 4-NR, Pittsford, N.Y. 14534. 716-586-3170.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for cultured singles of all ages. Established 1970. Nationwide. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039, or call 215-358-5049.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

Educational Opportunities

UNIVERSITY DEGREES without attending classes. Accredited Bachelor's, Master's, Doctorates. Free, revealing facts. Write: Kensam, P. O. Box 1383-NRW, Far Rockaway, N.Y. 11691.

DEGREES. COURSES. CityUnivLA, 3960 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif. 90010. 800-262-8388/213-382-3801.

LEARN MATH COURSES with my programs. Write: Algebra Tutoring, 505 Hollywood Drive, Knoxville, Tenn. 37919.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Work with attorneys. Lawyer-instructed home study. America's finest paralegal program. Free catalogue, 800-362-7070, Dept. LB173.

UNIVERSITY DEGREES by mail. Accredited. Free revealing facts. Thorson-NR8, P. O. Box 470886, Tulsa, Okla. 74147.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word with 10-word minimum. Phone number, zip code, and all permitted abbreviations count as one word. Permitted abbreviations include titles (M.D., Ph.D.), organization names (IBM, USMC), state and country names (N.Y., U.S.), and miscellaneous items such as A.P.O., RR, S.A.S.E., P. O. Box.

Special Rates: $2.75 per word per insertion for 4 insertions; $2.50 per word per insertion for 6 insertions; $2.25 per word per insertion for 8 or more insertions.

NR Box Numbers: Available for an additional $10. Include "NR Box ____" in text of ad (three words). Responses will be forwarded. Address responses c/o Dorian Robbins, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

New Service: We will accept display ads in the Classified Section. The rates are as follows: 1 column inch: $125; 2 column inches: $250; 3 column inches: $350. Camera-ready art must be provided.

Restrictions: NR does not accept political advertisements.

To Order: Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa. Include expiration date with credit-card orders. No telephone orders. Address: Dorian Robbins, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SPEAK SPANISH, FRENCH, or any of 59 languages as diplomats do, using same U.S. State Department easy self-study cassettes/textbook. Up to 50% savings! Call for free catalogue, Audio Language Institute, 800-722-6394.

Networking

INNOVATIVE AGENCY FOR DISABLED citizens founded by firm conservatives needs help to reduce dependence on the state. Rick Walker, Road to Responsibility, 83 Enterprise Drive, Marshfield, Mass. 02050.

Literary/Periodicals

Bargain Books

Publishers' overstocks, remainders, imports—over 4,000 titles at up to 80% savings in our **FREE CATALOG!** Biography, History, Art, Nature, Gardening, Cooking, Fiction—something for everyone, including about 800 new titles monthly. Write:
Hamilton Box 15-727, Falls Village, CT 06031

WRITE SHORT ARTICLES! Earn money! Report tells how. $4 to Turner Associates Marketing Services, 4630 South Kirkman Road, Suite 137, Orlando, Fla. 32811.

THE PROFESSIONAL Oppression of America, a new book. Information: P. O. Box 1956, Beaufort, S.C. 29901.

ADOLF HITLER'S FRONTIER, by R. F. Marty (pseudonym retired Foreign Service officer); read how Hitler, the Easterner (Austrian), duped the West as Lenin had before him and Gorbachev is doing today. $15. Hardcover. R. Marty, Suite 222, 1430 Willamette, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

THE MISOGYNIST. Bi-monthly essay by Lord Misogyny. Entertaining, iconoclastic, fun. $5/year. P. O. Box 716, Shrewsbury, Mass. 01545.

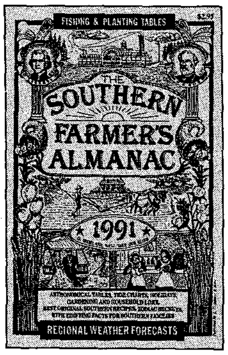
LOVE AND OTHER HERESIES. Dangerous essays. $7. Hannonymous Rex, P. O. Box 3073, Hollywood, Fla. 33022.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRN, 11 West 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

THE SOUTHERN FARMER'S ALMANAC

Read about the increase in hurricanes to come, the 1991 solar eclipse, how to make folk toys, Mrs. Robert E. Lee's recipes. Weather forecasts for the entire year. Send $2.95, plus $1.25 for postage and handling, to:

The Southern Farmer's Almanac
P.O. Box 27566,
Dept. NR,
Richmond, Va.
23261-7566.


FISHING & PLANTING TABLES
$2.95
THE SOUTHERN FARMER'S ALMANAC
1991
REGIONAL WEATHER FORECASTS

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. 2035 (NR) Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501. Send wants.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1777NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

For Sale

DEATH TO SADDAM! bumperstickers. Send $8 to John F. Drennan III, P. O. Box 228, Lemoyne, Pa. 17043.

SEIZED CARS, trucks, boats, 4-wheelers, motorhomes, by FBI, IRS, DEA. Available your area now. Call 805-682-7555, ext. C2552.

THE ORIGINAL ADAM SMITH necktie, $24.50, postage paid. Visa/MasterCard. The Decatur Shop, P. O. Box 277, North Adams, Mich. 49262. 517-287-5888.

BUFFALO COATS FOR MEN, N.Y. designed. Also fox, coyote, beaver full-length coats for women. Montana Furs New York Mfg., $1,950 each. Sent to your home on approval. Montana Gold, 306 East Gambier Street, Mount Vernon, Ohio 43050. Phone 614-397-3054.

INTENSITIES & ANALOGIES

by A.R. Thurar

The psychological reasons for everyday behaviors: Art, Drama, Love, Music, Religion, Sex, Sports & many others.

ECR Press, P.O. Box 1208, Stn. B, Ottawa, Ont., Canada K1P 5R3. $8 + $2 s/h (chq. or m.o.)

NATIONAL REVIEW's canvas tote bag on sale now. Tote around town with *National Review*'s lightweight canvas bag. Great for books. Be identified with *NATIONAL REVIEW* "For All the Right Reasons." Send $9.95 plus $2.00 (postage/handling) to *National Review*, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

U.S. FLAGS—embroidered stars, sewn stripes, heavy outdoor nylon. 3′ × 5′ regularly $30.90, *National Review* special $20. Other sizes available. 800-441-FLAG.

A GREAT GIFT IDEA—The *National Review* 1991 Calendar with 13 original Jeff MacNelly cartoons. This full-size (10″ × 12″) calendar is done in four color on coated stock with enough space to jot down appointments and special events. Enjoy the humor of the foremost political cartoonist of our time, all year long. Just send a check for $13.95 plus $1.50 for postage and handling to: *National Review* Calendar, Dept. CL, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Miscellaneous

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Detailed report. Send a sample of your handwriting on unruled paper and $20 to Hunslo Services, 7739 E. Broadway, Suite 415N, Tucson, Ariz. 85710.

IMPOTENCE. Information guide to the causes and latest treatments. Send $20 to Hunslo Services, 7739 E. Broadway, Suite 415N, Tucson, Ariz. 85710.

UNDERSTANDING DEFENSE. The monthly newsletter for U.S. strategic superiority. Subscribe now. $25 per year. 1633 Best Lane, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

ACROSTICIANS CLUB. Free "Acrostics Network," details, puzzles. Mock, 1030-A Delaware, Berkeley, Calif. 94710.

URGENT—CZECH FREE-MARKETEERS need help immediately. Czech ministry dealing with problems of emerging free-market economy needs books donated on privatization. Send directly to: Pavel Bratinka, Ceske Ministerstvo Pro Spravv Warodni Ho Majetku, A Privatizaci, Senovazne Nam 32, 110 00 Praha 1, Czechoslovakia.

MORALE BOOSTERS NEEDED. Help support our troops in the Persian Gulf through your letters. To write to a service member in the ground forces, address correspondence to: Any Service Member, Operation Desert Storm, APO New York 09848-0006. To write to Navy and Marine personnel, address correspondence to: Any Service Member, Operation Desert Storm, FPO New York, 09866-0006.

KING

(Continued from page 46)

do with America's blackout of the maxim, "Everybody's friend is everybody's fool," is not permitted. Nonetheless, it is a truth universally unacknowledged that loners go happily through life, keeping themselves to themselves and having trouble at work until they die in their beds at the age of 96.

Unabashed misanthropy evokes a surprising response, as Robert Lewis Taylor notes in his biography of W. C. Fields: "Fields's defiance of civilization, over a period of 67 years, became an institution in which the public took pride. . . . Most persons, as a scholar has noted, harbor a secret affection for anybody with a low opinion of humanity."

This secret affection springs from a universal familiarity with the grind of daily life. The misanthrope has little to offer victims of crushing evil, but he is the nemesis of humanity's little meannesses, the ones that hurt most of the people most of the time. In his ceaseless battle against hypocrisy and pettiness, the ostensibly uncharitable misanthrope inadvertently becomes a warrior for the meek majority who never get even with the people who do them wrong.

It's not a bad life. For an American especially, it carries a priceless purity. Nobody can call you *-ist*, an *-ite*, or a *-phobe* when you have already called yourself a *-thrope*. ☐

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Cardinal And the Strikers

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 28

John Cardinal O'Connor proclaimed recently, at a rally supporting the striking union members against the *New York Daily News*, that he spoke as "the proud son of a lifelong union man." One wonders how it is relevant for Cardinal O'Connor to cite this datum. The contrary case can be made, i.e., that the cardinal may be less than ideally situated to pronounce objectively on the quarrel between the unions and the *News*, given his background. Usually if you cite your background it is to make the point that you are taking a position different from the one you might be expected to take, evidence of the deep thought you have given to the question. Thus at a Jackson for President rally a speaker might say, "I am the proud great-grandson of a slaveowner, and I say, vote for Jesse Jackson."

But the cardinal has not done very much to clarify the questions raised by the strike. He has been quoted as saying, "To lose unionism would be to go back to worse than slavery." Surely the cardinal can't mean that? Eighty-three per cent of American workers, industrial and clerical, are non-union, and it is not widely supposed that we ought to be ready to fight another civil war to emancipate them from working conditions they themselves elected, given that there are laws that protect the rights of workers to unionize if they want to. The non-union workers in America include the clerical staff of the New York Archdiocese. I know a number of these, and am not prepared under oath to aver that they consider their working conditions better than slavery, but even so, I'd resent it if anyone referred to Cardinal O'Connor as a slavemaster.

And then the cardinal says that the hiring of permanent replacements for the strikers "raises moral questions." That's true, but it is also true that the activities of the unions raise moral questions, and these the cardinal has not dwelled upon. James Goodale, a former vice chairman of the *New York Times*, and an attorney widely known for his fairmindedness, summed up the problem. "At the *Daily News* and some other large city papers, there are 15 men on a press when only seven are needed, more men put the paper on the trucks than are needed, and the drivers get paid for a seven-day week when they work only five. According to Wall Street estimates, the *News* probably has 50 per cent more workers than it needs and pays more than 10 per cent of its payroll on unnecessary overtime required by out-of-date union contracts." The *News* has lost $110 million as a result of such exactions, and it is certainly a moral question to which the cardinal has not drawn attention, whether it is "right" to threaten the survival of a large cultural enterprise by the device of systematic extortion.

The cardinal's faith sets high value on the freedom of conscience. A reporter who elected to stay on the job when the drivers' union pulled out had the following experience. He attended a packed courtroom to cover the Mike Tyson trial. "Hey, scab," shouted fight promoter Don King. "Alex, Alex, I thought you were on strike. Did you cross the picket line?"

"Laughter," an observer reports, "broke out in the gallery."

"What about your status, your honor?" the fight promoter continued taunting him. Alex was silent.

The *News* is fighting to stay alive, which means to continue to employ a great many people, though fewer than those who now make a handsome living off the fruits of featherbedding. Everyone deplores violence, but some more fullthroatedly than others. That there is violence is a police statistic: 888 incidents of battery, arson, and damage to people and property are recorded; 145 assailants have been arrested. The president of the Teamsters local proclaimed exultantly on November 1, "We are loooking at a sea of union people. We are going to fight to keep this a union town. Not one Teamsters truck will deliver newsprint to the *Daily News*. Not one Teamsters truck will bring ink, or oil to heat the building. They will have to cart the garbage away in their own cars." The executive director of another union chimed in with his fraternal contribution: "Rest assured there will be no peace in this town until we win."

MR. WACKWHISTLE, YOU'VE REALLY GOT A TWISTED MIND
Mal

© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.

There certainly has been no peace for those who seek to deliver the newspaper to people who want to read it. If one City Council member wiggled his little finger to stand in the way of 25 readers receiving tomorrow's issue of *Screw* magazine, the entire civil-liberties world would descend on him to defend the First Amendment. In New York, one-half million people are prevented from reading a paper, and what we get is talk about a return to slavery, and ho-ho hearty promises to bring turmoil to those who only want to work, and to read. ☐

Ten Myths

NEW YORK, JANUARY 4

Mr. Doug Bandow of the Cato Institute has published a wonderfully useful list of shibboleths undressed, which he calls Ten Myths about the Budget. It appears in a bulletin of the Ludwig von Mises Institute and gives us perspective on the broad question of taxation.

Myth #1. The government is starved for revenue. In fact, the government collected $53 billion more in 1990 than in the preceding year, or $1.05 trillion. "As a percentage of GNP, taxes are higher today than they were in 1980."

Myth #2. Federal spending is inadequate. Outlays in 1990 were $1.265 trillion. They were $590.9 billion in 1980. "In real terms, spending is one-third higher than it was a decade ago."

Myth #3. Reagan tax cuts caused the deficit. But between 1980 and 1988, tax revenues increased, from $517 to $908 billion. "Even after factoring in inflation receipts, taxes rose 23 per cent under Reagan. All the fabled Reagan tax cuts did was counteract other tax hikes."

Myth #4. Reagan slashed spending. "Spending increased every year Reagan was in office; in 1983, spending as a percentage of GNP hit a post–World War II record of 24.3 per cent."

Myth #5. Reagan slashed social spending. "Spending increased in real terms on health, education, and welfare. Spending on agriculture went from $8.8 billion to $17.2 billion in eight years (and even hit $31.4 billion in 1986)."

Myth #6. Republicans are fiscal conservatives. Real spending grew by 16 per cent under Nixon and by 25.8 per cent under Reagan, compared with Carter's 14.6 per cent. "How about Bush? After just two years, real spending has leaped 9.4 per cent."

Myth #7. If Congress hadn't reached a budget deal, the ensuing cuts brought on by sequestration would have been devastating. In fact, they were talking about $87 billion—in a $1.27-trillion budget. "That's 6.9 per cent. Are we really supposed to believe that a government that has more than doubled its spending over the last ten years cannot cut seven cents on the dollar?"

Myth #8. The budget-summit agreement cut spending. No. When you raise taxes, you raise taxes. When you forecast spending decreases, you are engaged in necromancy. "Thus on-budget spending would grow from $1.2 trillion this year to $1.4 trillion in 1994."

Myth #9. A budget agreement will solve the deficit problem. No no. Because budget agreements do not incorporate the machinery for enforcement. "For example, under the original Gramm–Rudman proposal, the deficit should be zero this year. Instead, the result is permanent tax increases which allow Congress and the executive branch to spend more as the deficit grows.

". . . What really matters is the . . . increase in total federal debt, which stands at $2.2 trillion. And this is pocket change compared with other liabilities: $16.5 trillion for Social Security, $1.8 trillion for Medicare, and $1 trillion for civil service and military pensions. . . .

"All told, taxpayers are potentially liable for $27.3 trillion in unfunded obligations—$109,200 per American."

Myth #10. Congress is restraining spending. "Budget negotiators recently approved an 18.8 per cent increase in highway spending. Republican Silvio Conte's Massachusetts district will receive a $3.4-million highway 'demonstration' project. Another $1 million goes to develop a 'national transportation policy,' which is supposed to make us bike or walk instead of drive. . . .

"Outlays on 13 national laboratories are rising 18 per cent—to ensure funding for worthy projects like SETI: the Search for Extraterrestrial Intelligence. The University of Massachusetts will get a new solar heating plant and North Dakota will get $500,000 to renovate the birthplace of Lawrence Welk. Congress also voted to renovate the House beauty parlor and barber shop ($375,000), to find a location for a staff gymnasium ($25,000), to renovate a House restaurant ($2 million), and to buy new House trash cans ($40,000). The Senate gets new elevators for Senators Only ($8 million) and new Senate office furniture ($2.5 million)." Had enough? If so, you are a taxpayer. ☐

Dartmouth—Again

NEW YORK, JANUARY 16

Pity poor Dartmouth College. Its administration has made a national effort to persuade its alumni and the American public that the *Dartmouth Review* is in fact motivated by a hatred of: women, homosexuals, Jews, and blacks. Most recently the administration's mills ran overtime to exult over the appearance, alongside the weekly's logo, of an anti-Semitic remark taken from Hitler's *Mein Kampf.* When that sentence was spotted by the editor, he recalled all issues of the paper, promised to investigate who had tampered with the computer in order to insert the sentence, and closed with an apology in language suitable to Cotton Mather or *Izvestia* denouncing a sinner or a capitalist. James Freedman, the president of Dartmouth, was clearly dismayed by this corporate disavowal, as he had heatedly pronounced the anti-Semitic quotation as an expression of the sentiments of the paper's editors—if you want to know who is guilty, just "look in the mirror." Meanwhile, the editor of the *Dartmouth Review*, a bright young black student, invited an investigation of a) the incident, and b) the *Review*'s alleged biases.

The head of the New Hampshire Human Rights Commission set out to read every issue published during the last two years. The chairman, in his own words, "read every single thing they wrote about teachers. I reviewed editorials and editorial cartoons. And I didn't find any hint of bigotry or prejudice." For President Freedman, who had accused the *Review* of "attacking blacks because they are black, women because they are women, homosexuals because they are homosexuals, and Jews because they are Jews," this was a shattering development.

The Anti-Defamation League then reported that its own investigation led it to conclude that the *Review* was not anti-Semitic, but that the Nazi insert was done by an insider, and was an "anti-Semitic" act.

The question whether the act was anti-Semitic is not really answered by citing the anti-Semitism of the quotation. If Bad Johnnie lights a stink bomb in a crowded theater featuring *The Crucible*, he is not necessarily a McCarthyite: he might well be merely a prankster-pervert-vandal. As it happens, the camera in Hanover is zooming in on a disaffected young staffer of the *Dartmouth Review,* a Chinese-American who had twice been reprimanded for seeking to insert bawdy quotations into the page given over to reproducing aphoristic or amusing quotes. What is clear from reading the back issues of the *Review* is that there is no pattern of racist or sexist derogation. I'm not sure that exoneration would extend to the charge of homophobia. But then that is a tough one, because if a student these days opposes some of the demands of the Gay Liberation types, he might be branded as a homophobe, when all that can verifiably be said about him is that he is opposed to homosexual practices, which is still, though perhaps only just still, a permissible position.

A long conversation with Mr. Richard Glovsky, a Boston attorney, who headed up the Anti-Defamation League's examining commission, leaves us with the following, and here one quotes the language of the ADL commission: ". . . an avowed purpose of the *Review* is to create and foment controversy, which it has historically accomplished by regularly printing outrageous articles or satires. It has also succeeded in gaining the attention of the national press by intentionally inflaming certain controversial issues and . . . engag[ing] in highly confrontational and offensive conduct."

I think one can grant this in part—from time to time the *Dartmouth Review* dismays even some of its staunchest supporters. But while there are conservatives who from time to time urge the *Review* to cool it, one wonders whether there are liberals who from time to time are urging President Freedman and carefree reporters to cool it. It pays to remember that on the one hand one is dealing with young men and women sowing wild polemical oats, while on the other hand one is dealing with full-grown men and women who have had years and years in which to grow up, but haven't. ☐

(Universal Press Syndicate)

OFF THE RECORD

African Violate. Muammar Qaddafi, exploiting the Gulf crisis and the ensuing surge in "militant pan-Islamic sentiments in Africa," has revived his push for control over the continent's sub-Saharan nations. That according to a new study by the House Republican Research Committee's task force on terrorism, chaired by Florida's Bill McCollum (R.).

Qaddafi's immediate goal, the report says, is "to consolidate a radical African bloc" of Libya, next-door Chad (whose President Habre was overthrown in December with Libyan assistance), Burkina Faso, and Sudan, with "efforts being made to convince (coerce) Niger and Mali to join the bloc." Next, Libya will move to expand the coalition by adding Nigeria, Liberia, Cameroon, and Senegal through subversion and "destabilization." Once, somebody might have destabilized *him* first, but that was in the days when we had a CIA. Fortunately, we still have the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines.

GOPeeved. Meanwhile, on the domestic front, the Republican National Committee is in financial crisis. A high-level GOP campaign official tells Cato that the RNC is, as of mid January, in the hole by some $5 to $6 billion, and is clawing furiously to raise cash by January 31, when it must file an annual report with the Federal Election Commission. It seems major donors such as the Eagles—who hail from the party's centrist/Wall Street wing—have stopped feathering the GOP nest, angered by the tax flip-flop and the budget agreement.

Indeed, during the heat of the November elections, an RNC fund-raising letter, signed by George Bush and mailed to his own list, actually lost money—an unprecedented outcome. The official, voicing fears of others in high GOP places, said that unless something occurs to galvanize the GOP rank and file, 1992 could see party apparatchiks on bread and water. A successful outcome to Operation Desert Storm could be that something.

Tax, Spend, and Lose. Cato has spied some private GOP polls which reveal just how much the Administration's support for the September 30 budget deal hurt GOP House candidates.

Just one example was the open-seat election in Texas's 11th CD, where Republican Hugh Shine and Democrat Chet Edwards were running neck-and-neck through September. However, a poll taken right after the budget agreement showed Shine dropping behind by eight points, a margin he never made up. Surveys on other races produced similar results. In addition, polls on voters' "time of decision-making" reveal that those who selected their House candidate before and during September were evenly divided between the two parties, whereas voters who made their choice in early October backed Democrats by a solid 52 to 45 per cent.

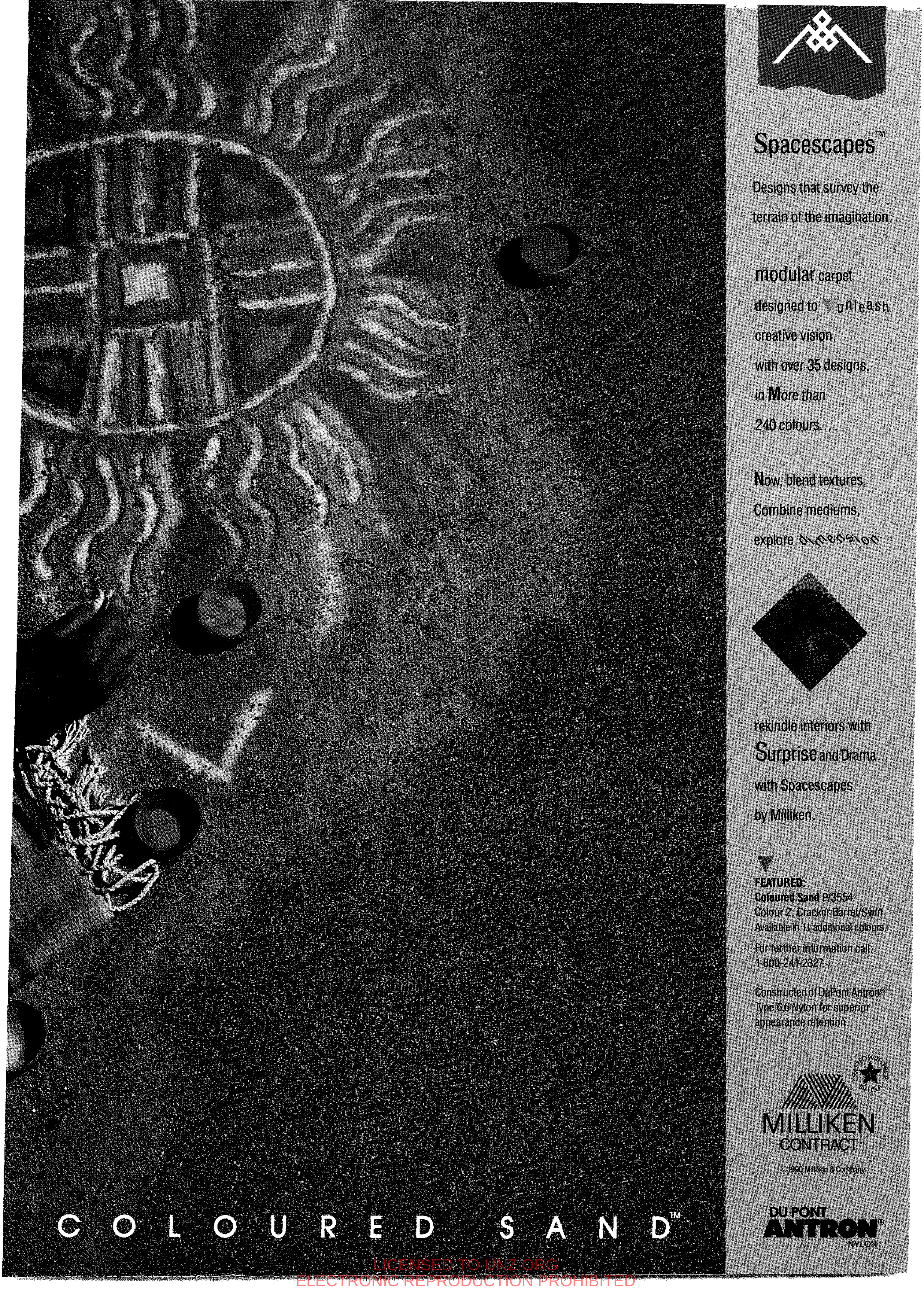
Promises, Promises. The ouster of House Republican Conference Chairman Jerry Lewis as California's representative on the GOP Committee on Committees ["Off the Record," Dec. 31] has touched off some intra-party turmoil. Representative Ron Packard, who replaced Lewis on the Committee on Committees, has been besieged by nervous GOP colleagues asking if he would honor Lewis's assignment promises—many of them made in return for votes in Lewis's battle to retain the Conference chairmanship. One senior Representative tells Cato that Packard was finally driven to ask Lewis who had been promised what, only to receive a straightfaced response that "no deals were made."

This just in...

"And that's tonight's news. Now, here's our station manager with another one of his outrageously wrong-headed editorials."

Innside the Beltway. Quirky freshman Senator Paul Wellstone (D., Minn.) has hit the ground stumbling, his initial gaffe- and oddity-filled days in Washington already earning him the moniker "Senator Millstone." One of the more interesting "Wellstones" came in a C-Span interview, where the senator ruminated about playing hotelier to visiting Minnesotans. "My dream, you see, is, I'm gonna write a proposal and get a bed-and-breakfast place that somehow we'll be able to run and say to the people from Minnesota, 'When you come to Washington . . . don't stay at hotels. That's so expensive. . . . Stay with us.' . . . That's what I'd love to do. Cook up some breakfast for people—I'll do that—and let people have a place to stay. I'm serious about it." We know; that's the problem.

Comings and Goings. Hill sources tell Cato that Utah Republican Jake Garn, frustrated by the Senate's gridlock ways, will not seek re-election in 1992. . . . Marc Nuttle, $167,000-a-year executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee—like the RNC, awash in red ink—has departed rather than wait to be canned. . . . Vice President Dan Quayle's two chief national-security aides, as a reward for jobs well done, are being nominated for ambassadorial posts: Carnes Lord is slated for Myanmar (alias Burma), while Jon Glassman has been chosen for Paraguay. . . . And former Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R., Minn.), the man unseated by Paul Wellstone, is on the short list for secretary of agriculture. If he is selected, it would be a small-yet-sweet *touché*: Senate Democrats, already irked by Wellstone, have denied him his priority assignment—a seat on the Agriculture Committee. —CATO



COLOURED SAND™

Spacescapes™

Designs that survey the terrain of the imagination.

modular carpet
designed to unleash
creative vision.
with over 35 designs,
in More than
240 colours...

Now, blend textures.
Combine mediums,
explore dimension.

rekindle interiors with
Surprise and Drama...
with Spacescapes
by Milliken.

FEATURED:
Coloured Sand P/3554
Colour 2: Cracker Barrel/Swirl
Available in 11 additional colours.

For further information call:
1-800-241-2327.

Constructed of DuPont Antron® Type 6,6 Nylon for superior appearance retention.

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN USA

MILLIKEN
CONTRACT

© 1990 Milliken & Company

DU PONT
ANTRON®
NYLON

A SOLID SET OF VALUES YOU CAN PASS DOWN TO YOUR KIDS.

The Volvo values—quality, safety, and durability—are built into every 240 Series sedan and wagon we make. Which makes them perhaps the best way to transport your most valued possessions. Your kids.

And because the Volvo you buy is built to last, it may be the car your kids drive first.

So after you've faithfully carried them from Dick and Jane through Dickens and James, you can send them out into the world with the same set of values they grew up with. A Volvo.

What could be more valuable than that?

VOLVO
A car you can believe in.

CALL TOLL FREE FOR YOUR CATALOG OF 1991 VOLVOS: 1-800-221-9136. © 1990 VOLVO NORTH AMERICA CORPORATION.